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viri illustris
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LA
STÈLE DE MESA
ROI DE MOAB

836 av. J. C.

LETTRE A M. LE C^{te} DE VOGÜÉ

PAR

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU

DROGMAN-CHANCELIER DU CONSULAT DE FRANCE A JÉRUSALEM



PARIS
LIBRAIRIE POLYTECHNIQUE DE J. BAUDRY
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1870

LA

STÈLE DE MESA,

ROI DE MOAB.

Jérusalem, 16 janvier 1870.

Depuis très-longtemps je savais, par des rapports d'indigènes et de Bédouins, qu'il existait à Dhibân, l'ancienne Dibon, de l'autre côté de la mer Morte, un gros bloc de *pierre noire* couvert de caractères. Je soupçonnai tout d'abord l'importance de ce monument, mais je ne songeai pas à aller à Dhibân m'assurer de l'exactitude des descriptions qui m'en avaient été faites; un voyage transjordanien est une entreprise difficile et surtout une affaire fort coûteuse. Cependant des informations recueillies ultérieurement me donnèrent la certitude que la pierre noire était une stèle et que les caractères gravés étaient phéniciens. Je reçus même d'un Arabe de la ville, en tournée dans ces parages, la copie très-grossièrement faite de plusieurs lignes de l'inscription. Il n'y avait plus de doute possible; je résolus dès-lors de me procurer à tout prix l'estampage d'un monument aussi précieux. J'envoyai à Dhibân, avec deux cavaliers de la tribu du cheikh Qablan, un jeune Arabe très-intelligent, Yâqoub Caravacca. Il obtint, non sans difficulté, des Beni-Hamîdé ou Hamaïdé, propriétaires de la pierre, l'autorisation d'en prendre un estampage. Pendant l'opération, une de ces querelles si fréquentes chez les Bédouins s'éleva entre les Beni-Hamîdé présents; une rixe s'ensuivit, et mes hommes n'eurent que le temps de rega-

*

gner leurs chevaux et de partir au galop. Le pauvre Yâqoub eût même dans la bagarre la jambe traversée d'un coup de lance. L'estampage était perdu sans la présence d'esprit d'un des compagnons de route de Yâqoub, cheikh Djemîl, qui, au milieu de la mêlée, se jeta dans le trou au fond duquel était la pierre, arracha le papier encore humide qui la recouvrait, en jeta les lambeaux dans un pan de son *abaya*, sauta sur son cheval et vint rejoindre ventre à terre ses deux compagnons.

Le but de l'expédition était donc atteint : j'avais un estampage ; mais dans quel état, hélas ! Les lambeaux tout mouillés s'étaient fripés et chiffonnés en séchant, et les caractères n'avaient laissé que des traces imperceptibles. On ne pouvait les distinguer que par transparence, en interposant la feuille entre l'œil et une bougie ou un rayon de soleil. J'en lus cependant assez pour me convaincre de l'importance capitale de cette découverte.

Sur ces entrefaites j'eus l'occasion de faire connaissance avec un cheikh de la puissante tribu des Beni-Sakher, voisin des Beni-Hamîdé. Cheikh 'Id el-Faëz avait vu la pierre ; il se fit fort de désintéresser les Beni-Hamîdé et de me l'apporter à Jérusalem. Il demanda quatre cents médjidiés dont je lui donnai moitié d'avance. C'était une grosse somme et je courais grand risque de ne revoir ni pierre, ni argent, ni Bédouin. Au bout de deux semaines, Cheikh 'Id me rapporta loyalement l'argent, en me disant que, pendant qu'il était à Jérusalem à traiter avec moi, les Beni-Hamîdé avaient mis l'inscription en pièces ; il donnait pour mobile à cet acte de sauvagerie incompréhensible une demande qui leur aurait été adressée au sujet de ce monument par l'autorité turque, à qui ils voulaient ôter un prétexte d'intervenir dans leurs affaires. Je ne croyais pas un mot de toute cette histoire, malgré les assurances formelles de cheikh 'Id. Son récit n'était pourtant que trop vrai, comme je viens d'en acquérir la preuve il y a quelques jours seulement.

Après cet échec, je renonçai momentanément à la stèle de Dhibân, et je m'occupai d'étudier l'estampage en lambeaux que j'en possédais. La semaine dernière je vis arriver tout à coup cheikh Djemîl,

que j'avais envoyé plus tard à la découverte, armé d'une brosse et de papier à estampage. Il me rapportait deux estampages, assez adroitement pris d'ailleurs, de *deux grands fragments* de la pierre, plus des petits morceaux de la pierre elle-même *avec des caractères*. Il me fallut bien me rendre à l'évidence.

Ces renseignements concordaient d'ailleurs pleinement avec ceux du capitaine Warren, qui était au courant de mon histoire et qui de son côté avait mis en campagne un autre Bédouin. Son homme lui rapporta également l'estampage des deux mêmes fragments, et quelques petits morceaux avec des caractères.

Ayant acquis la certitude de la destruction de ce monument, je me mis immédiatement à essayer de le reconstruire avec les éléments que j'en possédais : mon premier estampage, qui m'en donnait à peu près l'ensemble avec des lacunes malheureusement considérables ; mes estampages partiels des deux grands fragments ; la copie, indéchiffrable en elle-même, de quelques lignes, et les petits morceaux.

C'est le résultat de ce premier travail que je vous demande de soumettre aujourd'hui à l'Académie. Ce résultat, obtenu seulement en quelques jours, laisse certainement beaucoup à désirer. On est loin encore, je l'espère, du degré qu'une étude plus suivie permettra d'atteindre. Mais je me hâte de le livrer tel quel à la publicité, ne voulant pas retarder davantage la connaissance d'un monument aussi précieux pour la science.

D'après les détails qui m'ont été donnés par différentes personnes, la pierre était un gros bloc massif, mesurant cinq emfans (chiber) de hauteur, sur trois de largeur et environ autant d'épaisseur. D'après les estampages, elle aurait eu 1 mètre de hauteur et 0,60 centimètres de largeur, avec une épaisseur égale. La pierre, comme j'ai pu m'en assurer *de visu*, par les morceaux qui m'en ont été rapportés, est une sorte de basalte d'un noir bleuâtre, semé de paillettes brillantes, à l'intérieur, et couvert d'une patine mate brune sur les parties de la face gravées. Le grain compacte de cette pierre donnait au monument un poids énorme et en aurait rendu le transport très-difficile.

La forme de la stèle était celle d'un carré long, terminé en haut par une partie arrondie; l'angle inférieur de droite était déjà cassé depuis fort longtemps.

J'ai compté trente-quatre lignes dans ce que m'ont fourni mes estampages. Les lignes du haut sont plus courtes que les autres, la pierre diminuant de largeur à sa partie supérieure. La moyenne des lettres par ligne est de trente-trois à trente-cinq. Le long de la partie droite régnait une espèce de petit rebord faisant encadrement et se prolongeant presque jusqu'au bas. Il avait disparu à gauche.

Les caractères sont petits comparativement à la superficie qu'ils recouvrent; ils sont peu profondément gravés à cause de l'extrême dureté de la pierre. Plusieurs d'entre eux doivent être peu lisibles sur la pierre même, car, chaque fois que j'ai voulu recourir à la copie partielle pour une lettre douteuse dans mon estampage, la lettre avait été sautée par le copiste. Une remarque du plus haut intérêt, c'est que tous les mots sont séparés par des points et que le texte est divisé en versets par des barres verticales; ce qui aide singulièrement au déchiffrement et à l'interprétation,

L'esquisse ci-jointe, qui donne les caractères de grandeur naturelle, est une restitution obtenue par le rapprochement et la superposition de l'estampage en lambeaux et des deux estampages partiels. Le trait bleu indique les déchirures du premier, la ligne ponctuée les limites des deux autres (1).

La concordance des lignes, déterminée à grand'peine et vérifiée à plusieurs reprises, peut être considérée comme certaine. Ce dessin est accompagné de quelques estampages des petits morceaux avec caractères, que je possède.

(1) J'ai réduit l'esquisse de M. Ganneau au tiers de l'original et l'ai fait reproduire sur la planche qui accompagne cette brochure; j'ai également reproduit les traits ponctués qui indiquent les limites des grands fragments : mais j'ai supprimé les traits bleus qui compliquaient singulièrement le dessin fait à une aussi petite échelle; je puis d'ailleurs certifier des nombreuses déchirures de l'estampage dont j'ai tenu les sept morceaux entre mes mains à Jérusalem.
M. V.

TRANSCRIPTION.

1	אנך משע בן כמש[נדב] מלך
2	יבני אבי מלך על מאב . ו אנך מלך
3	תי אחר אבי ואעש הבמת זאת לכמש בקרחה ב
4	שע כי השעני מכל (ה) . ל בכל שנאי
5	י מלך ישראל ויענו את מאב ? אנך כמש
6	צה ויחלפה ב נה אענו את מאב בימי אמר .
7	וארא בה ובבתה וישראל אבד אבד עלם וירש עמרי את
8	מהדבא וישב בה בנה ארבען שת
9	בה כמש בימי ואבן את בעל מען ואעש בה . ו(א)
10	את קריתן ואש גד בארץ מעלם ויבן לה מלך י
11	שראל את ואלתחם בקר ואחזה ואהרג את כל ה
12	קר לבמ[ש] ולמאב
13	(ה) לפני כמש בקרית ואשב בה את אש . ו את א
14	שחרת וימר לי כמש לך אחז את נבה על ישראל
15	הלך כלילה ואלתחם בה מ השחר(ה) עד צהרם וא
16	הואר כלה בע אל
17	כי לעשתר כמש ה
18	ל יהוה לפני כמש ומלך ישראל ב
19	יהצ וישב בה באלתחמה בוי ויגרשה כמש מ
20	אקח ממאב מאתן אש כל רשה ואשאה ביהץ ואח
21	ל ת על דיבן אנך בנתי קרחה חמת היערלם) וחמ[ת]
22	ח ואנך בנתי שעריה ואנך בנתי מגדלתה ו[א]
23	[נ]ך בנתי בת מלך ואנך עשתי כלאי האש בק
24	קר ובר אן בקרב הקר בקרחה ואמר לכל העם עשו
25	אש בר בביתה ואנך כרתי המכרתת לקרחה בא
26	[י]שראל אנך בנתי [ער?]ער ואנך עשתי המסלת בארנן
27	[אנך] בנתי בתבמת כלה[רם] אנך בנתי בצר כי ע[צ]
28	דיבן חמשן כי כל דיבן משמעת ואנך מל
29	את בקרן אשר יספתי על הארץ ואנך בנ[תי]
30	בת דבלתן ובת בעל מען ואשא שם את מ
31	(ה)ארץ וחורנן ישב בה ב . ו
32	[א]מר לי כמש . א הלתחם בחורנן וא
33	כמש י על עש
34	ק וא

TRADUCTION.

1. Moi, je suis Mesa, fils de Chamos[nadab]? roi
2. || Mon père régnait sur Moab..... et moi j'ai
3. régné après mon père || Et j'ai construit ce *haut lieu* (sanctuaire), avec sa plate-forme (?), pour Chamos.....
4. (Je m'appelle) *Mesa*, parce qu'il (Chamos) m'a sauvé (השעני) de tous les à tous les deux (?).
5. ... du roi d'Israël.... et il opprima Moab Chamos s'irrita.....
6. || Et il le changea..... j'opprimerai (j'ai opprimé?) Moab. || Dans mes jours j'ai (*ou* : il a?) dit....
7. et je le vis, lui et sa maison (son temple?). || Et Israël fut dispersé, dispersé pour toujours, et Omri s'empara de
8. Medeba (?) et y demeura il construisit quarante.....
9. où Chamos est (dominant) dans mes jours (aujourd'hui) || Et je construisis Baal-Meon et j'y sacrifiai || Et je construisis...]
10. Qiriathaim || Et..... envahit la terre.... anciennement; et se construisit
11. le roi d'Israël la (*ville de*)..... || Et jè combattis à Qir (*ou* : je fis le siège) et je le pris || Et je tuai tous les.....
12. (.sacrifice?) pour Chamos et pour Moab ||
13. devant la face de Chamos, à Qerioth, || Et j'y fis prisonniers les hommes (vieux?) et les.....
14. de la jeunesse (aurore) || Et Chamos me dit : Va! prends la domination sur Israël. ||
15. J'allai de nuit, et je combattis avec lui depuis le de l'aube, jusqu'à midi || et je.....
16. tout entier.....
17. qui est pour Astâr Chamos.....

18.Jahveh (Jehovah ?)..... devant la face de Chamos
|| Et le roi d'Israël [vint à]
19. Yahas, et y demeura (jusqu'à?) mon combat avec lui || Et
Chamos le chassa de.....
20. Je pris de Moab deux cents hommes en tout || Et je les fit monter (les comptai) à Yahas, et je.....
21. sur Dibon || . C'est moi qui ai construit l'esplanade (?), les murs de Yearim (?) et les murs de.....
22. Et c'est moi qui ai construit ses portes, et c'est moi qui
ai construit sa forteresse || Et c'est
23. moi qui ai construit Bet-Moloch || Et c'est moi qui ai fait les
deux.....
24. Qir || Et il n'y avait pas de puits dans l'intérieur de
Qir, sur son esplanade. Et je dis à tout le peuple : Fasse
25. chaque homme un puits dans sa maison || C'est moi qui ai offert l'holocauste, sur l'esplanade (?) dans.....
26. Israël. || C'est moi qui ai construit Aroër (?), et c'est moi qui
ai fait la route de l'Arnon.
27. C'est moi qui ai construit Bet-Bamoth, qui était détruite (?) ||
C'est moi qui ai construit Bosor, qui.....
28. Dibon, des chefs militaires (הַמִּשִּׁי), pour que tout Dibon
fût soumis || Et moi j'ai.....
29. avec les villes que j'ai ajoutées à la terre || Et c'est moi
qui ai construit....
30. Bet-Diblathaïm || Et Bet Baal-Meon, et
j'ai érigé là le.....
31. la terre || Et Horonaïm, où résida.....
32. Chamos me dit : Combats à Horonaïm || Et
je..
33. Chamos..... sur.....
34.
-

Il me reste maintenant à justifier cet essai de traduction et à faire rapidement ressortir les faits nouveaux fournis à la science par la stèle de Dhibân.

CH. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

Ces pages étaient suivies d'une dissertation philologique et historique, dans laquelle M. Ganneau justifiait ses traductions et déterminait la date du monument. Interrompu par le départ du courrier dans la transcription de ce travail, l'auteur n'a pu m'en envoyer que le commencement, comprenant le commentaire des dix premières lignes; j'aurais pu attendre, pour livrer le tout à la publicité, que j'eusse reçu le complément de la dissertation; mais je ne pus me résoudre à une aussi longue attente, et, en faisant imprimer ce travail, même incomplet, je crois avoir mieux servi les intérêts de la science et ceux de M. Ganneau (1). J'assure ainsi à notre jeune et savant compatriote la priorité de sa découverte, et je mets sans retard à la disposition du public éclairé un document du plus haut intérêt.

J'ose dire qu'il n'existe pas, dans le domaine des antiquités hébraïques, un seul document qui puisse lui être comparé. C'est le seul monument biblique authentique et original qui ait été trouvé jusqu'à présent. On pourrait presque dire de notre texte que c'est une page originale de la Bible. En effet, suivant M. Ganneau, le roi Mesa, auteur de la stèle de Dhiban, n'est autre que le roi de Moab, dont la Bible a raconté les luttes sanglantes, et qui était contemporain des rois d'Israël Achab, Ochozias et Joram. Je partage entièrement cette opinion; je crois même que l'on peut, à l'aide des documents bibliques, déterminer l'année dans laquelle notre inscription a été gravée; sans vouloir anticiper sur le travail de M. Ganneau, ni préjuger ses conclusions que j'ignore, je dirai en quelques lignes comment il me paraît possible de fixer cette date. Elle ajoute une trop grande valeur à la découverte pour ne pas la joindre à ce premier essai.

La comparaison des textes bibliques (*IV Reg.*, I et III; *II Par.*, XX) et des passages de Josèphe (*Ant. Jud.*, IX, 2 et 3), relatifs au roi Mesa, fournit une histoire dont voici les traits saillants : Moab était tributaire d'Israël. Après la mort d'Achab et sous le règne très-court du faible Ochosias, Mesa résolut de secouer le joug. Il se révolta d'abord contre son suzerain immédiat, le roi d'Israël, et lui refusa le tribut annuel de deux cent mille moutons et agneaux. Puis il se tourna contre le roi de

(1) Aussitôt complet, ce travail sera publié dans un recueil spécial.

Juda, Josaphat, et, entraînant avec lui des Ammonites et des Édomites, il attaqua ses États par le sud; il poussa jusqu'à Engaddi, où la division se mit dans les rangs de ses troupes; les alliés se prirent de querelle et s'entr'égorgèrent sous les yeux de l'armée de Josaphat. L'année suivante, Joram, étant monté sur le trône d'Israël, voulut reprendre l'offensive; il fit alliance avec Josaphat, avec le roi d'Édom, et les trois rois, contournant la mer Morte par le sud, vinrent attaquer Mesa au cœur de ses États. Refoulé de partout, le roi de Moab s'enferma dans sa capitale Qir-Hareset; serré de près, il essaya en vain une sortie à la tête de sept cents de ses plus braves soldats; enfin, pour fléchir la colère de son Dieu sanginaire, il immola son fils aîné sur le rempart, et l'offrit en holocauste à Chamos. Cet affreux spectacle remplit d'horreur et de pitié les rois alliés, qui levèrent le siège et quittèrent le pays après l'avoir dévasté.

La seule période de cette tragique histoire dans laquelle puisse se placer l'heureuse campagne mentionnée par la stèle de Dhibân, me paraît être la première révolte de Mesa. Dans les passages déchiffrés par M. Ganneau, le roi de Moab n'a qu'un seul adversaire, le roi d'Israël, Ochozias sans doute; les faits de guerre et de conquête sont concentrés dans un seul pays, le territoire situé au nord de l'Arnon, ancienne dépendance de Moab, occupée alors par la tribu de Ruben. Il me paraît probable que Mesa, non content de refuser le tribut, aura envahi la province isolée et mal défendue qui était à sa proximité. Vainqueur à Yahas, à Dibôn, il fit élever la stèle comme un monument de sa victoire, puis, enhardi par ses succès, il aura entrepris contre le roi de Juda la campagne qui devait avoir un si lugubre dénouement.

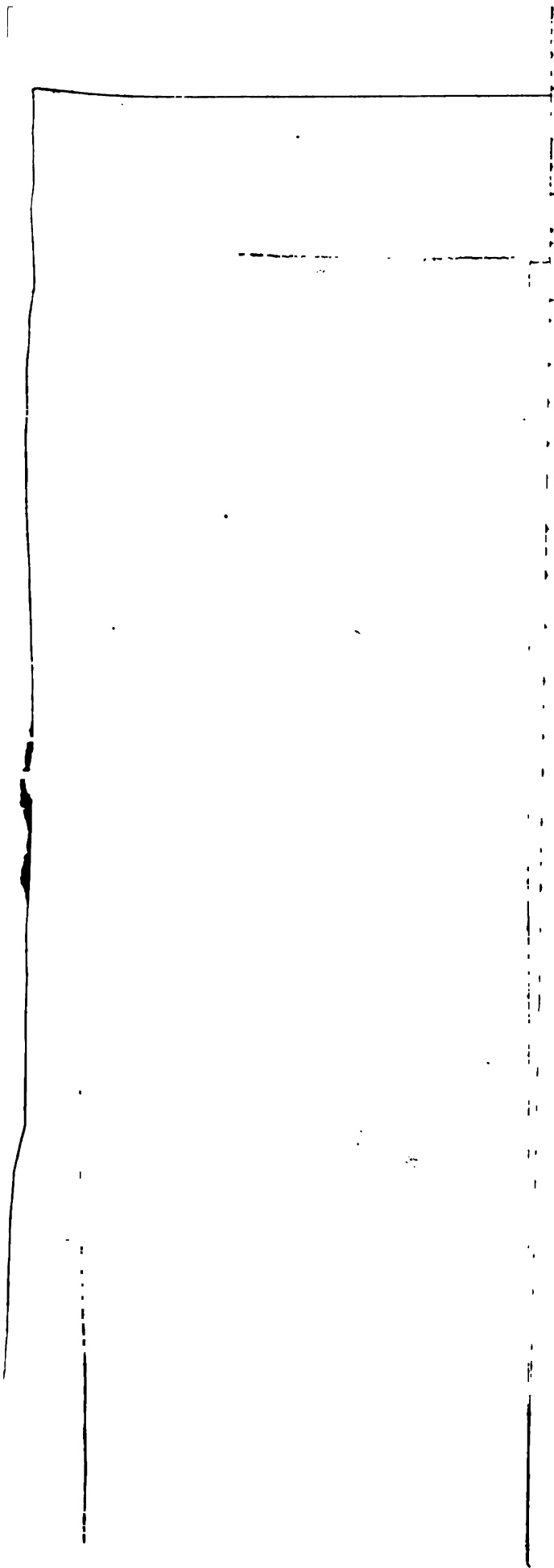
Si nos conjectures sont fondées, la stèle aura donc été gravée pendant la deuxième année du règne d'Ochozias, roi d'Israël, c'est-à-dire, suivant la chronologie généralement adoptée, l'an 896 avant l'ère chrétienne.

On conçoit donc l'immense intérêt historique, archéologique et paléographique qui s'attache à la découverte de ce monument; je me contente de le signaler, pour faire ressortir en même temps l'importance du service rendu à la science par M. Ganneau. On me permettra seulement, au seul point de vue de la paléographie, de faire remarquer que la stèle de Dhibân est écrite à l'aide de cet alphabet phénicien archaïque que j'ai soutenu avoir été, avant le septième siècle, commun à tous les peuples sémitiques, les Phéniciens, les Hébreux et leurs congénères. Cette opinion, basée sur des inductions, sur l'étude de pierres gravées dont la date ne pouvait être déterminée d'une manière absolue, a été très-vivement combattue; elle reçoit aujourd'hui, d'un monument original et incontestable, une éclatante confirmation. Nous avons enfin sous les yeux un exemplaire authentique de l'alphabet hébraïque du neuvième, on peut même dire du dixième siècle; de ces caractères archaïques, ἀρχαία στοιχεία, d'Origène et de saint Jérôme, à l'aide desquels étaient écrits les plus anciens manuscrits de la Bible.

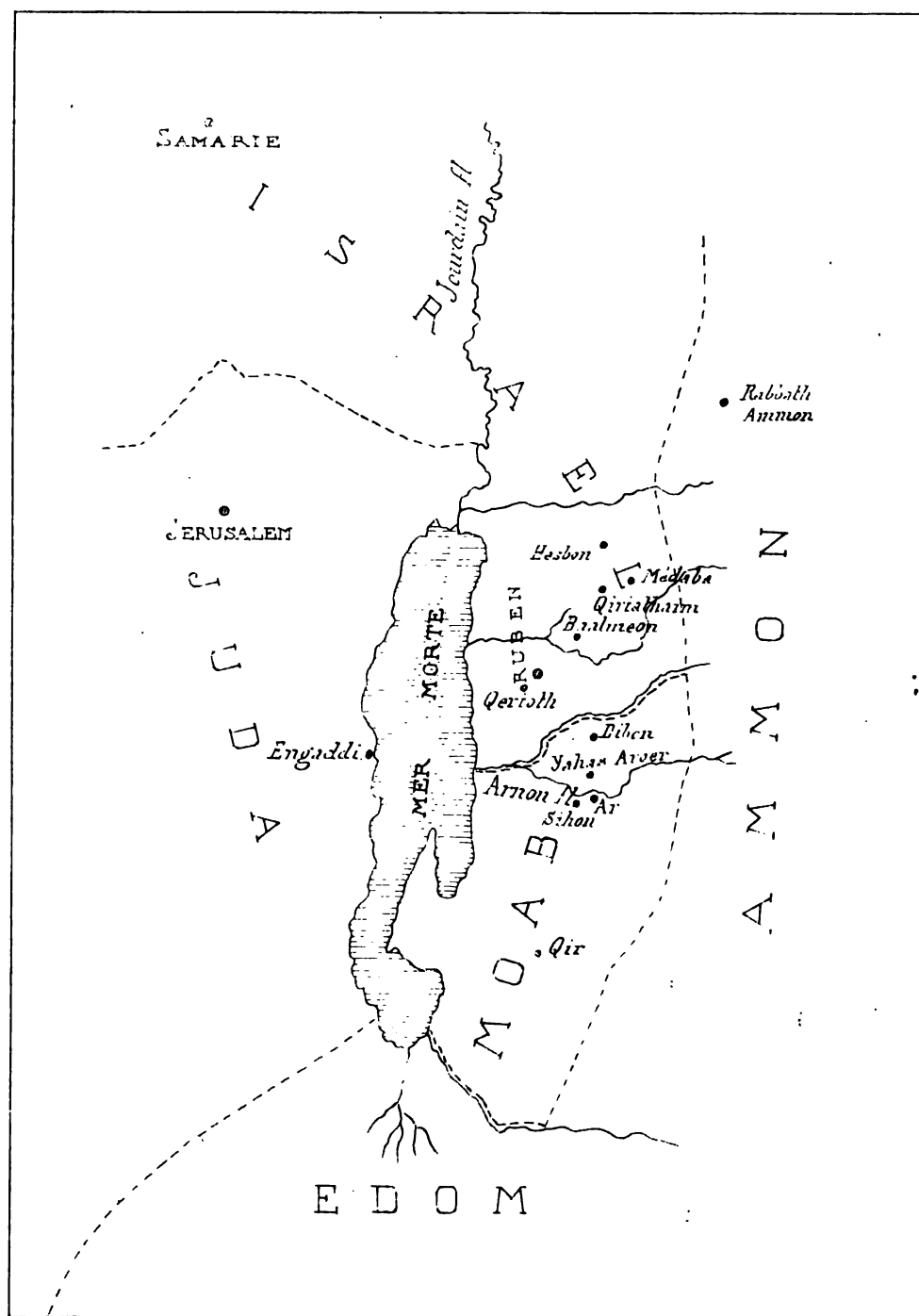
Le monument du roi Mesa nous fournira bien d'autres confirmations plus importantes au sujet de l'exactitude historique et géographique de nos livres saints, de la langue et de la philologie. Pendant longtemps encore on discutera sur la pierre de Dhibân; il me suffit aujourd'hui d'avoir contribué à la faire connaître rapidement; associé, pendant mon dernier séjour à Jérusalem, aux péripéties de ce petit roman archéologique, ayant constaté les efforts de M. Ganneau, les difficultés de déchiffrement et autres qu'il a dû vaincre, j'ai tenu à lui apporter ce concours et ce témoignage. Le monde savant s'associera aux regrets qu'inspire la destruction de la stèle de Mesa, et en même temps aux félicitations que nous adressons au jeune savant, sans lequel cet inestimable document eût été à jamais perdu.

M. DE VOGÜÉ.

Paris, 5 février 1870.







CARTE
POUR L'INTELLIGENCE DES CAMPAGNES DE
MESA ROI DE MOAB

spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend.' The 'Lord' here must unequivocally be applied to the symbol of the Lord, or the *shekinah*, which was the true organ of communication with the people. It would be easy to carry out this line of investigation to still further results; but the considerations which have been offered will suffice to indicate the general bearings of this interesting subject.

See Lowman, *On the Shekinah*; Taylor's *Letters of Ben Mordacai*; Skinner's *Dissertation on the Shekinah*; Watt's *Glory of Christ*; Upham, *On the Logos*; Bush's *Notes on Exodus*; Tenison, *On Idolatry*; Fleming's *Christology*.—G. B.

SHELEPH (שֶׁלֶפֶחַ; *Salas*; Alex. *Σαλέφ*; *Saleph*), the second son of Joktan, and founder of one of the minor tribes of eastern Arabia. After the genealogical records in Gen. x. 26, and 1 Chron. i. 20, there is no mention of this tribe in Scripture. The whole family of the Joktanites, or as they are called by Arab writers *Beni Kahtân*, settled in south-eastern Arabia [*JOKTAN*; *ARABIA*].

Ptolemy, in enumerating the Arab tribes in the interior of Arabia, mentions the *Salapene* (Σαλαπηνέ), which appears to be the gentile form of *Saleph* (Σαλέφ), the Greek representative of the Semitic *Sheleph* (Ptol. vi. 7). Bochart was the first to suggest this identity (*Opera*, i. 99); and his opinion is fully corroborated by the researches of Niebuhr and other Oriental scholars since his time. Niebuhr found in the province of Yemen an extensive district called *Saife* (or *Salaftye*), which doubtless retains the name of the primeval tribe (*Description de l'Arabie*, p. 214). The name appears to have been given to the region by the tribe of *Beni Sulaf*, mentioned by Arab historians as forming a subdivision of the *Beni Kahtân*.

Forster endeavours to identify the *Beni Saleph* with the *Meteyr* tribe, whose chief residence is in *Kasym*, in the province of *Nejd* (*Geog. of Arabia*, i. 109; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, p. 233). For this, however, there appears to be no sufficient evidence.—J. L. P.

SHELOMITH (שְׁלֹמִית), the name of several persons male (1 Chron. xxiii. 18; xxiii. 9; xxvi. 25; Ezra viii. 10) and female (Lev. xxiv. 11; 1 Chron. iii. 19).

SHEM (שֵׁם, *name*; Sept. *Σήμ*), one of the three sons of Noah (Gen. v. 32), from whom descended the nations enumerated in Gen. x. 22, *scq.*, and who was the progenitor of that great branch of the Noachic family (called from him *Shemitic* or *Semitic*) to which the Hebrews belong. The name of *Shem* is placed first wherever the sons of Noah are mentioned together: whence he would seem to have been the eldest brother. But against this conclusion is brought the text Gen. x. 21, which according to the Authorised, and many other versions, has 'Shem the brother of Japheth the elder;' whence it has been conceived very generally that Japheth was really the eldest, and that *Shem* is put first by way of excellency, seeing that from him the holy line descended. But this conclusion is not built upon a critical knowledge of the Hebrew, which would show that הֶנֶךְ, 'the elder,' must in this text be referred not to Japheth but to *Shem*, so that it should be read 'Shem . . . the elder brother of Japheth.' The current version of

the text is sanctioned only by the Septuagint among the ancient versions, and it is there supposed by some to be corrupt. The Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate, adopt the other interpretation, which indeed is the only one that the analogy of the Hebrew language will admit. The whole Bible offers no other instance of such a construction as that by which הֶנֶךְ אֶת הַיָּפֶתִי 'the brother of Japheth the elder,' which indeed would be an awkward phrase in any language. The object of the sacred writer is to mark the seniority and consequent superiority of *Shem*. He had already told us (Gen. ix. 24) that *Ham* was, if not the youngest, at least a younger son of *Noah*, and he is now careful to acquaint us that *Shem*, the stem of the Hebrews, was older than *Japheth* (see Baumgarten, *Theolog. Commentar zum Alten Test.*; Geddes, *Critical Remarks*: respecting the posterity of *Shem*, see *NATIONS*, *DISPERSION OF*).—J. K.

SHEMAIAH (שְׁמַיָּה, *whom Jehovah hears*; Sept. *Σαμαίας*). 1. A prophet of the time of Rehoboam who was commissioned to enjoin that monarch to forego his design of reducing the ten tribes to obedience (1 Kings xii. 22-24). In 1 Chron. xii. 15, this *Shemaiah* is stated to have written the *Chronicles* of the reign in which he flourished.

2. A person who, without authority, assumed the functions of a prophet among the Israelites in exile. He was so much annoyed by the prophecies which *Jeremiah* sent to *Babylon*, the tendency of which was contrary to his own, that he wrote to *Jerusalem*, denouncing the prophet as an impostor, and urging the authorities to enforce his silence. In return he received new prophecies, announcing that he should never behold that close of the bondage which he fancied to be at hand, and that none of his race should witness the re-establishment of the nation (Jer. xxix. 24-32).—J. K. [Many others of the same name are mentioned, but none requiring special notice].

SHEMARIM. [*WINE*.]

SHEM'EBER (שְׁמַיָּה, *lofty flight*; Sept. *Συμοβέρ*), king of *Zeboim*, one of the five 'cities of the plain' (Gen. xiv. 2).

SHEMEN. [*OIL*.]

SHEMER (שֹׁמֵר, *lee*; Sept. *Σεμήρ*), the owner of the hill of *Samaria*, which derived its name from him. *Omri* bought the hill for two talents of silver, and built thereon the city, also called *Samaria*, which he made the capital of his kingdom (1 Kings xvi. 24) [see *SAMARIA*]. As the Israelites were prevented by the law (Lev. xxv. 23) from thus alienating their inheritances, and as his name occurs without the usual genealogical marks, it is more than probable that *Shemer* was descended from those *Canaanites* whom the Hebrews had not dispossessed of their lands.

SHEMINITH. [*PSALMS*.]

SHEMITIC, or rather **SEMITIC LANGUAGES**,* a term commonly applied to a certain number of cognate idioms supposed to have been

* Having devoted special articles to the different branches of the *Shemitic Languages*, it is our intention here to give only the briefest pos-

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spoken by the Shemites—*i.e.* the descendants of Shem. Considering, however, that the Canaanites and the Phoenicians, the Cushites and a number of Arabic tribes, all derived in the genealogical list of Genesis x. from Cham, *did* speak 'Shemitic,' while Elam and Lud derived from Shem did not, as far as our present information goes (Ashur has now the benefit of a strong doubt):—that designation, first advocated by Eichhorn and Schlözer, must be pronounced a complete misnomer, although it has kept its ground up to this moment for sheer want of a precise and accurate term. It has supplanted that other one, used from the Church Fathers downward, of 'Oriental Languages'; a denomination perfectly satisfactory to the 'linguistic consciousness' of generations that viewed Hebrew as the mother of all languages, and whose acquaintance with Eastern idioms was limited to this and an imperfect idea of Phœnico-Punic, 'Chaldee'—Jewish or Christian—and Arabic. But when, towards the end of the last century, the gigantic discoveries in the realm of Eastern philology suddenly made these idioms shrink into the small proportions of a family of dialects confined for a long period to a narrow corner of the south-west of Asia; that most comprehensive name of Oriental Languages had, notwithstanding single protests, to be put aside for ever. Leibnitz's suggestion of 'Arabic' being too narrow for the whole stock, 'Syro-Arabic,' formed in analogy to 'Indo-European,' was proposed, but that too has not been found generally expressive enough, apart from the objection of its being apt to be erroneously understood in a linguistic rather than in a geographical sense. Thus, in default of a better name, the above will probably be retained for some time to come, with the distinct understanding of its being a false and merely conventional expression.

Comparative philology, although, compared with what we now understand by this term, a very embryonic one, exercised itself at an early period, and in a vague manner, in these idioms. The resemblance between them is indeed so striking at first sight—its roots being as nearly identical as can be—that it could hardly have been otherwise. It is the difference between them rather than the similarity that requires a closer scrutiny in order to be discovered at all. As it is, they do not vary among themselves to the extent even of the dialects in any single group of the Indo-European languages. Yet, as we shall further show, the idea still entertained by not a few scholars—*viz.* of one of the Shemitic languages standing in the relation of maternity to another—must now be utterly discarded, and all that can be granted to the speculative 'Science of Language' is the possibility of some kind of extinct prototype, out of which they might have individually developed. Exactly as there is an 'Idea' (in the Platonic sense) of a primæval mother of all the Indo-European tongues floating before the minds of our modern investigators.

Meanwhile, the existence of three distinct 'Shemitic' dialects of independent existence, each bearing a clearly-marked individuality of its own in historical times, has been established beyond all

sible *resumé*; and in taking a general and comprehensive view of the questions connected with this subject, we presuppose an acquaintance with its details.

doubt; and, as usual, different names and divisions have been proposed for them. The most widely adopted and the most rational ones are those that are taken from the abodes of the different tribes who first spoke them. Thus we have: *a.* The northern or north-eastern branch—*i.e.* that of the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Tigris, bordered by the Taurus in the north; by Phœnicia, the land of Israel, and Arabia, in the south; and embracing Syria, Mesopotamia (with its different 'Arams'), and Babylonia. This is called the 'Aramaic' branch. *b.* The idiom spoken by the inhabitants of Palestine: 'Hebraic.' And *c.* That of the south or the peninsula of Arabia—'Arabic'; the idiom confined to this part up to the time of Mohammed. Another recent division is the so-called historical, framed in accordance with the preponderance of these special branches at different periods. By this the Hebraic would assume the first place, extending from the earliest times of our knowledge of it down to the 6th century *B.C.*, when the Aramaic begins to take the lead, and the field of Hebrew and Phœnician—the chief representatives of Hebraic—becomes more and more restricted. The Aramaic again would be followed by the Arabic period, dating from the time of Mohammed, when the Islam and its conquests spread the language of the Koran, not merely over the whole Shemitic territory, but over a vast portion of the inhabited globe. But this last division is so arbitrary, not to say fallacious—for there is every reason to suppose that 'Aramaic' flourished vigorously in its own sphere during, if not before the whole Hebraic period, and again that 'Hebraic' (as Phœnician) kept its ground simultaneously with the later 'Aramaic' period—that its own authors had to hedge it in with many and variegated restrictions. So that it is, in fact, reduced simply to a 'subjective' notion or method, not further to be considered. But we further protest all the more strongly against it, as it might easily lead to the belief that the one idiom gradually merged into the other—Hebrew *into* Aramaic, Aramaic *into* Arabic, much as Latin did into the *Vulgar*—which would be utterly contrary to fact. The vulgar Arabic spoken now in Palestine no more developed out of Aramaic, than the English spoken in Ireland developed out of Celtic or 'Fenian.'

Sinking for a moment the distinctions between these different Shemitic idioms, and viewing them as one compact Unity, more especially in comparison with that other most important family, the Indo-European languages, we are struck, as were the Church Fathers and the mediæval grammarians, with more signs of primæval affinity than their mere identity of word-roots. And indeed, if this had constituted our sole proof and criterion, the circle of relationship would have had to be widened to an astonishingly large extent. One of the chief and indisputable characteristics of Shemitic has, since the days of Chajug, been held to be their triliteralness. That is, that every word consists, in the first instance, merely of three consonants, which form, so to say, the soul of the idea to be expressed by that word; while the respective special modifications are produced by certain vowels or additional letters. Some of the latter have, in a few instances, remained stationary, but even then they are always clearly distinguishable from the root, as mere casual accessories. But these very additional and only casually

annexed consonants have led investigation to doubt that time-hallowed axiom of trilateralism. So far, it has been said, from this being a primæval inborn attribute of these idioms, nay, a sign of their having been handed down (especially in the Hebraic form) as nearly like their original prototype as can be: it is rather a sign of a very advanced stage of a development in which they all participated, and which renders them almost as unlike their primitive type as any foreign group of languages. There must have been a time, it is contended, when not three, but two radicals with an intermediate vowel—a monosyllable in fact—formed the staple of some original 'Shemitic' language. Out of this they may have sprung simultaneously, by one of those linguistic revolutions consequent upon sudden historical events—emigrations and the like. Not indeed in the sharply-outlined form in which we now find them, but predisposed to their development of linguistic individual peculiarities: one and all however bent upon the extension of their monosyllabic root into a trilateral—in a way that the consonant prefixed should express what *nuances* an advancing civilisation found it necessary to distinguish in every one of the scanty roots forming the common stock of the whole Shemitic family. These biliterals, to which the roots thus are traced back, are nearly all of an onomatopoeical nature; that is, they are imitative sounds of a primitive kind. As long as they were used, the untold grammatical distinctions of an advanced human stage—flexions, categories, constructions—could, if they existed at all, only have existed in an embryonic state.—The authors and defenders of this ingenious conjecture—the unexpected use of which we shall presently show—fail, however, to answer the question, when and how this most extraordinary step from two to three letters could so suddenly and simultaneously have been introduced as must needs be presupposed. Not one of the monosyllabic languages known to us has ever changed its roots in this extraordinary manner, and the adduced analogy of the quadrilaterals having been formed from the trilaterals is not to the point.

Yet this analytical discovery of monosyllabic bases, if it does not assist us as much as was expected in the solution of the many difficult problems offered by the Shemitic idioms when compared among themselves; was made to support a much more sweeping theory—viz. that of an original affinity, nay identity, between Shemitic and Aryan, at some most remote period. A period, in fact, when Aryans and Shemites dwelt in the same homesteads; a period anterior to the final development of the roots of their—common—rudimentary language, and, of course, long anterior to grammars: and therefore also called the *antegrammatical* stage. And this theory has been advocated and warmly defended from Schlegel down to our day by some of the most eminently Aryan and Shemitic scholars. Nay, even the absurd extreme to which it has been carried by Delitzsch and Fürst did not bring its original form into discredit. These two scholars, to wit, do not stop at the affinity, but assume a downright relationship of parentage between the two groups. Their proofs and their specimens of words, however, do not sufficiently support their hypothesis. For the most part arbitrary to an immense degree, and erroneous in their application, they resolve themselves either into accidental similarities or into such affinities as are easily

explained by late importations (the existence of which has never been doubted) from one group into the other—caused by the constant contact between the two families in prehistorical as well as historical times. Quite apart from that other most unfortunate accident of their trying to prove their case by certain talmudical and Syriac words which bore an undeniable family-likeness to certain Greek and Latin words of similar meanings; but which were really words taken from Greek and Latin in late Roman times, and spelt in a slightly disguised Shemitic fashion.

We cannot in this place further enlarge upon a point which trenches so nearly upon those obscure problems about the origin of language in general, that prominently occupy the minds of scientific inquirers in these days. Whatever be the final issue, if ever there be one, we cannot but simply state the fact that, grammatically, there cannot be a more radical difference than that which exists between the two groups, while lexically or etymologically a certain affinity between them is perfectly incontestable even to the most critical and unprejudiced eye. However different the conclusions they draw, on these points even the most extreme schools agree. But whether, as some hold, there was once a stage where there was no grammar at all, or whether there was a kind of grammar which contained the two subsequently so widely varying forms of it *in nuce*; or again whether the two races ever did inhabit the same soil at all, and the phenomenon of the lexical property common to both may be explained on the one hand by certain linguistic laws that unchanging rule body and soul of humanity and produce everywhere the same onomatopoeical sounds, the origin of which we may or may not be able to trace in our present stage, and on the other hand by a certain interchange of ideas and objects at different periods of their existence:—we shall leave undiscussed in this place, content to have shown the different standpoints. The most remarkable, and perhaps the least easily-accounted for phenomenon, is the striking similarity of the pronouns and numerals, not only in Indo-Germanic and Shemitic, but even in Coptic, which for this and other reasons has indeed been held by some to be both lexically and grammatically the Chamite link between the two. With what small show of reason, however, we cannot stop to explain.

Among these last-mentioned curious mutual interchanges that took place in what we may call—comparatively speaking—historical times, we find first of all certain Egyptian words that have early crept into Hebrew, partly possibly before the sojourn at Goshen. Thus we find *אור*, *אורח*, *אורח*, *אורח*, perhaps also *חורב*, *חורב*, and others, some of them still to be found in Coptic, and not explained by Shemitic etymology. On the other hand, certain words, chiefly designations of animals, are found in Coptic which are taken from Shemitic—*גמל*, *נשר*, *איל*, *פיל*, etc. Next stand those verbal importations from India, brought home by the trading expeditions to 'Ophir'—*קוף*, *אורליון*, *נדר*, *נדר*, and the like—which are easily traceable to Sanscrit and its dialects. [And here we would draw attention to the word *יוון* (Yavan), the Shemitic designation for the Greeks, which seems to be the Sanscrit *युवजान* Yuvajana = Lat. juvenis—i.e. a younger branch (of emigrants probably).] Strangely enough, while the Greek was enriched to

We shall now, as summarily as possible, speak

of the Shemitic idioms in their special branches, and endeavour to point out as we proceed whatever is best fit to throw a light on the many questions respecting their comparative age, development, and history, referring always for fuller details and points beyond our present task to the several articles devoted to them individually in the course of this work. The first and to the Biblical student most important of these idioms, is the middle-Shemitic, Hebraic, or Hebrew, the language of the Hebrew people during the time of their independence in Canaan. The term Hebrew (עִבְרִי) itself has been derived by some from Eber, the father of Peleg and Joktan; by others from the appellative עֵבֶר, scil. הַיָּבֵר—i. e. the other side of the river Euphrates, whence the Abrahamites immigrated into Canaan (LXX. ὁ περάτης). This double derivation is already mentioned in Theodoretus; other derivations are from עֵבֶר, to explain, etc. No less

have Iberians, Arabians, and other words of similar sound been pressed into the service. The canonical books of the O. T. do not use that term to designate the language, which they call variously כְּנַעֲנִי מִשָּׁפָה, language of Canaan, in contradistinction to Egyptian; and יִשְׂרָאֵלִי Jewish, in contradistinction to Aramaic (or Ashdodian). It first occurs in Ecclesiasticus and Josephus, as ἑβραϊστί, γλῶττα τῶν Ἑβραίων. In the N. T., ἑβραϊστί, ἑβραϊς διάλεκτος, means Aramaean, in contradistinction to Greek. Philo, ignorant of the language, calls it γλωσσὴν χαλδαϊκὴν. When Aramaic had, after the return from the captivity, become the popular tongue, and Hebrew was chiefly confined to temple, syna-

gogue and academy, it received the name לְשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ, holy language, or, more accurately, לְשׁוֹן מִקְדָּשׁ, language of the sanctuary. One of the many vexed and barren questions connected with it is that regarding its original soil—that is, whether Abraham imported it as his own native tongue into Canaan, or whether, finding it there, he and his descendants merely adopted it. Those who held or hold Hebrew to be, if not the oldest of all languages, the oldest at least of the Shemitic idioms, naturally decide for the former view, since it could not but have remained the traditional inheritance of the chosen race. The defenders of the latter view, on the other hand, point to the circumstance that Abraham came from Mesopotamia, where Aramaic was the common idiom used—e.g. by Laban, the grandnephew of Abraham (Gen. xxxi. 47), as a translation of Jacob's Hebrew; further, to its denomination 'language of Canaan,' the geographical position of which country, between the Aramaeans and the Arabs, would seem exactly to correspond to the linguistical position of their respective tongues. Again, the close resemblance of the Phœnician to the Hebrew, and certain

proper names of Canaan, such as מִלְכִּי צֶדֶק, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, and the like, are brought forward in support of this second theory. Yet there is a third—viz. that the idiom itself may first have been fully developed by the Abrahamides in Canaan, who may have neither brought it nor found it there, but from a fusion of their own original 'Aramaic' and the Canaanitish language spoken in their new homes produced it and developed it.

Intimately connected with this question is the more general one as to the age of this language

itself. That it was the aboriginal tongue from which all others have been derived is, as we hinted before, an opinion not in accordance with the uncontested results of modern philology. The argument of the etymology of certain proper names in the early documents of Genesis (עֵדֶן from אֶדֶן, earth; חַיָּה from חַי, life, etc.), was already disposed of by Grotius, who held that Moses may have translated them simply into Hebrew according to the genius of this language, and by Clericus, who pointed out how these names were chiefly appellative names, to a great extent given after the events had taken place to which they point. Yet it was further argued, many names (from Kain to Lemech principally) allow of no etymology whatsoever, therefore this must be the original tongue of all men. Such most primitive arguments, however, disposed of, we are still left in the utmost uncertainty: and, in the absence of documents and testimonies, we must resign ourselves to give up all hopes of ever arriving at more than vague theories on the subject. Much more to the purpose, however, is the attempt to find out the relative position of Hebrew among its sister idioms. The oldest Shemitic documents that have survived are in Hebrew, and in them we find this language and its structure fully developed; so fully indeed, that what progress we do perceive in it is a downward progress: the beginning of decay. It further bears so distinctive a character of high antiquity, originality, simplicity, and purity—the etymology of its grammatical forms is still at times so clearly visible in it and it alone, while it has disappeared in the other dialects—that if not the oldest absolutely, it is certainly the one Shemitic tongue which seems to come nearest to the one primitive type of the Shemitic idioms now generally assumed. With regard to its lexical and grammatical position, it occupies that mean between the Aramaic as the poorest, and the Arabic as the richest. Its principal wealth and strength, however, lies in its religious and ethical element. Whatever may have been lost of its documents and the words which they contained, that which remains is sufficient to show the peculiar tendency and character of its vocabulary. There are, e.g., 14 different terms for 'ask, inquire,' 24 for 'keep the Law,' 9 for 'trust in God,' etc. Of foreign elements we chiefly discover those original terms for foreign objects, persons, or dignities, introduced from the Egyptian idiom during the Mosaic period, and from the Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, etc., at later times. Few traces are found of dialectical differences—although there are some of a vulgar idiom (מָן, מַנָּה, Manna, etc.)—while on the other hand the difference between prosaic and poetical diction is most striking. Fuller forms in flexions, in suffixes, peculiar formations of nouns, the use of grand epithets, and above all, rare words (mostly Aramaic), are the distinguishing characteristic of its poetry. It loves to draw for peculiarity of expression both upon the ancient and partly obsolete stock of words, and upon the language of the common people: no less than upon dialects of idiomatic affinity. Other poetical peculiarities are the omission of the relative or the use of the demonstrative in its stead, the omission of the article, and the like.

There is, however insignificant the changes undergone by the Hebrew and the Shemitic languages in general be, as compared with those of Indo-Germanic—and the reasons for this stability of the

former are founded in their whole character and history—yet a certain change noticeable in the Hebrew, as preserved in the O. T. Whether this be due to the difference of the ages in which the several books were written, or to peculiarities of the respective writers, as some hold, seems hardly to allow of a doubt. Whatever may be owing to provincialism, or individuality, or even to the more solemn and therefore different style of poetry—and we cannot always distinguish these things as clearly as we could wish—enough remains to show a gradual and important difference between the earlier and the later stages of the language in the earlier and later books of the O. T. Certain corresponding periods—two, three, or more—have accordingly been assumed. Thus some distinguish between the time before and that after the exile; others between Mosaic, Davidic, Solomonic periods, and the period after the exile. Yet these divisions are of a most precarious nature. It is quite true that certain words and forms which occur in the Pentateuch do not occur again until very late. That again, terms used at first in prose occur afterwards only in poetry, or have completely changed their forms and meanings. Further it is undoubtedly true that during the Davidian time, and that of his son, the influence of the schools founded by Samuel, and the influence of two such eminent kings and their brilliant literary achievement, together with the flourishing condition of the country itself, could not but make itself felt also in a generally higher and finer cultivation of style, diction, and language, throughout the writings of the period. It must also be allowed that the Assyrian invasion, and all its consequences—principally the spread of Aramaean in Palestine—corrupted the purity of the language, blunted its sense of grammatical niceties, and caused those who most desperately clung to the ancient style to introduce, instead of the living elements of former days, dead archaisms. But we doubt whether any genuine division can be instituted, as long at least as the now prevailing uncertainty as to the date of certain parts of the Scripture will last—and we fear it will not soon be removed.

Vague though our notions about the time when Hebrew was first spoken be, we have the clearest dates as to the time of its disappearance as a living language. When at the return from the exile all the ancient institutions were restored, it was found that the people no longer understood their own Scriptures in their vernacular, and a translation into Aramaic (out of which sprang the Targums) had to be added, 'so that they might understand them.' It soon became, as we said, the language of the schools and of public worship almost exclusively, somewhat like the Latin in the Middle Ages.

Closely allied to the Hebrew, as already observed by Augustine, Jerome, and others, is the Phœnician, which in our own days, with the increasing number of monuments brought to light, has risen to high importance. No language of antiquity perhaps was so widely spread. The whole ancient world almost being the vantage-ground of Phœnician enterprise, the language was naturally disseminated over the widest possible space, and the natural consequence was, that gradually yielding to foreign influence it did not keep up its original purity, and became in proportion more and more divergent from the Hebrew. Characteristic to it are

certain inflexions it retained, which were long obsolete in Hebrew, no less than certain words and phrases, considered archaic in Hebrew, but of common occurrence in Phœnician. Again, there is a tendency towards a darkening, so to say, of vowels—*e.g.* the Hebrew *a* becomes occasionally *o*, the *e* becomes *i* or *y*, the *i* changes into *y* or *u*, the *o* into *u*, and the like. The gutturals are at times interchanged, consonants are assimilated or omitted, etc. A grammar of this idiom has not been attempted yet, nor does the knowledge of the inflexions which we possess offer sufficient material for a systematic investigation at this present moment. A few items towards it, however, are, that the Hebrew termination of the nominative in *ah* becomes *as* in Phœnician, that the formation of the pronoun differs, that there is a greater variety of genitive forms in the Phœnician, etc. The abundance of Aramaism noticed in the language may have crept in at a late period only. The surviving remnants consist merely of inscriptions on coins and stones, chiefly discovered in their colonies. Of a written literature nothing has come down to us, save a few proper names and texts imbedded in a fearfully mutilated state in Greek and Roman writings, and a few scraps of extracts from their writers translated into Greek, but of extremely doubtful genuineness. From all we can gather there must have existed an immense number of Phœnician writings at a remote period of antiquity: chiefly of a theological or theogonical nature, whose authors were identified with the gods themselves. From the Phœnician is to be distinguished the Punic, a corrupted dialect of it, spoken in the western colonies up to the 7th century A.D., while the mother-tongue had completely died out on its native soil as early as the 3d century. There was even a translation of the Bible extant in Punic, but not a trace of it has remained.

We now turn to the northern Shemitic or 'Aramaic' branch, spoken between the Mediterranean and the Tigris; north of Phœnicia, the land of the Israelites, and Arabia; and south of the Taurus; a dialect poorer both grammatically and phonetically than either of the two others. Its peculiarities, moreover, are much of the nature of provincialisms, or perhaps even point to a stage of corruption of language. Thus it is not the change of vowel which produces the passive mood, but a special prefix (אח); the article does not begin but end the word; the sibilants are hardened (אח, אב, אב, gold; אב, rock; אב, return), etc. The earliest trace of its distinction from the Hebrew is the well-known translation of Jacob's אב into אב. A very difficult question, and one, we fear, not to be solved before further progress in our knowledge of cuneiform literature has been made, is that of the language of Babylonia. That Aramaic was spoken there is undoubted, but whether it was the only idiom prevalent, as in Syria and Mesopotamia, or whether the Chaldeans who had conquered Babylonia had brought with them another non-Shemitic (Medo-Persian) language 'akin to the Assyrian,' has been the subject of long discussions. But even granted that 'Chaldean' was akin to Assyrian, it need not therefore by any means have been a non-Shemitic language. It is, on the contrary, now assumed almost unanimously to be Shemitic; how far, however, it differs from the other dialects, and in particular what may have

been its direct or indirect influence upon Aramaic, we cannot here investigate.

Considering the vast importance of cuneiform studies—for Shemitic in general, and for our knowledge of Aramaic or 'Chaldee' in particular—we shall try briefly to sum up the results hitherto arrived at in this youngest of philological and palaeographical sciences. There are three principal kinds of cuneiform—a mode of writing, be it observed by the way, principally used for monumental records: a kind of cursive being used for records of minor importance—called respectively the Persian, Median, and Assyrian. The first, which seems to have died out 370 B.C., has from 39 to 44 alphabetical signs or combinations, which never consist of more than five wedges. Its words are divided by oblique strokes. The language it represents is Indo-Germanic—the mother of Zend. The second, variously called Median, Scythic, etc., and supposed to represent a Turanian dialect, is the least known and the least important. An alphabet of about 100 syllabic combinations has been constructed out of the very scanty remains in which it appears. The third and most momentous kind, the Assyrian, seems to have spread widest. Not only in Babylon and Nineveh, on the Euphrates and Tigris, but in Egypt itself has it been found. More than 400 combinations, phonetic, syllabic, and ideographic, have been distinguished in it, although our knowledge is limited to a proportionately small number of them. But the difficulties offered here are of the most extraordinary kind. The spelling is varied constantly, the signs occasionally represent different sounds (polyphonous), and the same sounds again are represented by different signs (homophonous). Finally, not one, but five or more dialects have been traced in them; dialects belonging to different tribes or periods. Thus it will be easily understood that many and momentous philological problems await their solution from the progress on this field; and little but conjecture is as yet allowed on the special points of our present subject. Of a primeval Babylonian literature, however, supposed to be preserved in certain Arabic translations, of which some hopes were entertained of late years, nothing reliable has come to light—although the existence of ancient Babylonian writings on mathematics, astronomy (combined with astrology), and chronology, is affirmed by ancient authors.

Turning, however, to what specimens of 'Aramaic' there are preserved, we first of all find certain dialects represented in them which have been variously divided into 'Chaldee' and 'Aramaic,' or into 'East-Aramaic' and 'West-Aramaic,' or again, into 'Jewish,' 'Heathen,' and 'Christian,' and finally, into 'Palestinian' and 'Babylonian' Aramaic. Discarding the term 'Chaldee' as liable to give most rise to misunderstanding—it is first found in the Alexandrines (χαλδαῖοι), and was adopted by Jerome—we may, for the sake of brevity, distinguish between Aramaean (אַרַמַיִת)

and Syriac (ܣܘܪܝܬ, ܣܘܪܝܬ, ܣܘܪܝܬ), which carry, at least in their present form of writing, the most unmistakable line of demarcation on their face. In the first, the Aramaic (Jewish), we have further to distinguish—*a.* The Galilean dialect, which seems to have been notorious for its carelessness in the use and pronunciation of its consonants and vowels. The sounds of K and Ch, P and B, etc.,

and above all the gutturals, were hardly distinguishable in their speech. Of so little importance, indeed, do these seem to have been, that they are frequently lost altogether, and entirely new sounds and compounds are formed—scarcely to be reduced to any grammatical or logical rule—by the mere vulgarity of an idiom saturated, moreover, with unconglomerated foreign elements to the last degree. *b.* The Samaritan—*i. e.* vulgar Hebrew and Aramaean mixed up together, in accordance with the genesis of the people itself. It, too, changes its gutturals, uses the *Y* most extensively, and does not distinguish the mute consonants. *c.* The Jerusalem or Judean dialect scarcely ever pronounces the final gutturals; and has besides many peculiar turns of its own, which show all the symptoms of provincialism, but it boasts of a fuller vocalisation. Its orthography, however, is one of the strangest imaginable. This last is the most important dialect of the three Aramaic ones, for in it the whole gigantic targumic and (partly) talmudical literature is written, while of the Samaritan there exist but few documents of a theological (Sam. Version), liturgical, and grammatical nature, and the Galilean never had, as far as we know, any literature of its own. We need but briefly mention here the minor ('heathen') branches, such as *Zabian*—standing between Aramaic and Syriac, the language of a mystico-theosophical sect called the Mendaïtes (= Gnostics), which is largely mixed with Persian elements, and almost bereft of grammar; the *Palmyrene*, a kind of Syriac, written in square Hebraic characters; and the *Egypto-Aramaic*, found on some monuments (stone of Carpentras, Papyri), probably due to Babylonian Jews living in Egypt, who had adopted the religion of their new country.

All 'Aramaean' literature—in contradistinction to 'Syriac'—is, it need hardly be added, Jewish; from the chapters in Daniel, written in this idiom, to the last remnant penned in Palestine or Babylon (the worship in the temple and the earlier schools being, as we said, the only places for which the 'Holy Language,' was partly retained), this was the exclusively used popular idiom. It had, in fact, become so popular and universal that it came to be called 'Εβραϊστί (N. T. *passim*). How it grew to be so universally adopted has hardly been sufficiently explained as yet; for the Captivity alone, or even any number of successively returning batches of immigrants from Babylonia, do not quite account for the phenomenon of a seemingly poor and corrupt dialect supplanting so completely that other hallowed by the most sacred traditions, that this became a dead language in its own country. The fact, however, is undeniable, as at the time of Christ even Scripture itself was popularly only known through the medium of the Aramaic Targums. Nearly all the Shemitisms in the N. T. are Aramaic, and the same may be said with regard to those found in Josephus: cf. Matt. v. 22, *ῥακά* = אַרַכָּא; xvi. 17, *ῥὰρ* *Ἰωάν* = אַרַנָּא; xxvii. 46, *ἡλὶ*

ἡλὶ *λημὰ* *σαβαχθαὶ* = אֱלִי אֱלִי לְמָה שַׁבַּחְתָּא; 1 Cor. xvi. 22, *μαρὰν ἀθά* = אַרַמָּא אַרַמָּא; Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 6, *Ἀσαρθὰ* = אַסַּרְתָּא; iii. 7. 1, *ὁδὲ Χαβαλας* *καλοῦσι* = אַרַמָּא, etc.

'Syriac' is the designation of an idiom used since the second Christian century in the church, which, though written in different characters (Estrangelo), is yet so closely akin to Aramaean that up to this

day the opinions are divided as to the propriety of making any difference at all between the two. As distinguishing marks between them have been adduced, principally, the 'darker' vocalisation of Syriac—*o* for *a*, *au* or *ai* for *o* or *i*, etc.—its different accentuation, its *ʔ* as the prefix of the 3d pers. future for the Aramaic *ʔ*, the formation of the Syriac infinite by *ܕ*, and its greater wealth of words, chiefly taken from the Greek; all of which, however, together with other peculiarities, are reduced by the advocates of the unity of both dialects to provincial differences and to the peculiar circumstances of the times. But here again, without entering more fully into the question, we can only venture the statement that there seems to be a great *prima facie* probability at least for their being radically identical; only let it not be forgotten that in order to be able to form a real judgment it will be first of all necessary that carefully-prepared editions of the literatures of both should be in our hands. Something has been done for the comparatively poor Syriac branch; for the Aramaic, nothing. That, however, the present Maronite dialect, as well as those of the Jacobites, Nestorians, and other Chaldean Christians, is essentially different from both Syriac and Aramaic, is undoubted: just as the vulgar Arabic spoken in Morocco and Algeria differs from classical Arabic [ARAMAIC; SYRIAC].

The Southern or 'Arabic' branch presents to us the most remarkable phenomenon of one special idiom—the Arabic—suddenly, as it were, starting out of utter obscurity as the richest, most complete, and most refined among its sister idioms, at a time comparatively modern, and exactly when the two other branches seemed to have accomplished their mission, and what remained of their life was merely artificial. So exquisitely finished and so boundlessly wealthy, both lexically and grammatically, has it been from the moment when it first became known, that, as there was no unripe infancy and no struggling growth observable in it, so there was also no age, and far less a decay. It thus ranks as the freshest and 'youngest': precisely in the same sense as the Hebrew may be styled the 'oldest' among the Shemitic idioms—not, as we said above, on account of its having in reality preceded the others, or still less of its having given birth to the others, but because for some reason or other its growth stopped at a certain period, and it seems to have retained its ancient physiognomy, while its sister dialects went on developing and renewing themselves as much as in them lay and circumstances permitted. As the Arabic was in the 6th century, so it remained almost unchanged up to our day, except perhaps that in absorbing foreign, especially Greek elements of culture, it did not assimilate them quite in the same congenial manner as an Indo-Germanic idiom would have done. But for all that this language must have an age equal at least to that of the other two sister dialects. There are traces of its peculiarities—peculiarities which divide it as sharply as can be from them—to be found in the earliest records of the O. T. We have, e.g.

the article *אֵל* (the Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים*) in *אֱלֹהִים* (Gen. x. 26), and further in words like *אֱלֹהִים*, *אֱלֹהִים*, *אֱלֹהִים*. The phenomenon, further, of a real declension by the change of the termination of the cases, by certain 'broken' plurals, etc., together with many forms of its conjugation, entirely and

radically unknown to Shemitic as represented by its other dialects, proves its early and most independent existence. That, further, the Arabs stood in great renown for wisdom, or what we should now call literary proficiency—if this be not a misnomer for a time when writing was unknown among them—in the earliest historical times, seems clear enough from the queen of Sheba's being an Arab queen, the friends of Job being Arabs, and Solomon's own wisdom being compared to the wisdom of the Arabs. How it came to pass that absolutely nothing should have survived of all that literature which certainly must have been produced among them is a phenomenon no less remarkable. Although two facts must be borne in mind always—viz. that it all was oral and that it was in verse, or at least in a rhythmical form adapted to those early proverbial sayings and poems of which a vague Arabic tradition still speaks; and Mohammed, for reasons of his own, discouraged, nay condemned, poetry—the sole vehicle of all science, all tradition, all religion, before him, in the 'time of ignorance.' A comparison between the Arabic and the two other branches most strikingly shows that superabundance, lexically and grammatically, of the former over the two latter of which we spoke. No one, the Arabs hold, could, without being inspired, keep the whole wealth of their language in his memory. For not only have single words (sword, lion, serpent, etc.), hundreds and thousands of nuances of terms, but many a single word has untold numbers of different meanings. The number of its root and words is like 3, respectively 10, to those of the Hebrew—such as the monuments of both now are in our hands. No doubt, had more survived of the Hebrew literature, the proportion would not have been quite as startling—for we now have only fragments of its religious writings to compare with the endless series of historical, poetical, philological, astronomical, and other Arabic literature; a literature which indeed does not leave a single part of science or belles lettres uncultivated, and which spreads over about eight hundred years—subsequently to the time of Greece and Rome. Nor can the brilliant Hebrew literature that sprang up in the middle ages, partly through Arabic influence, be taken into account. Arabic, though its 'classical' period may be closed with Mohammed, never became Neo-Arabic, while the difference between classical Hebrew and late Hebrew, which had to coin new words at every turn, is quite unmistakable. Arabic grammar shows the same ascendancy over that of its sister idioms as does its dictionary. It has twice as many forms of conjugation as the Hebrew, itself richer than the Aramaic by the Hiphal, the futurum *paragog.* and *apocop.* etc. The Arabic has, besides, over both the advantage of a *comparative*, and of a *dual* in the verb. The Hebrew *הָיָה* verbs, which in Aramaic are hardly distinguishable from the *הָיָה*, in Arabic split into the two distinct forms of *هَیْ* and *هָیَ*; just as many a Hebrew root with more than one signification appears in Arabic as a variety of roots, by a slight change of a consonant. Nay, of these, it has five more than the Hebrew and Aramaic. It has also, through the amplitude of its vocalisation, the charm of a more sonorous, a fuller and richer tone and colour than either. But it must also be acknowledged, that the harmonious flow of the more ancient idioms, their unfettered ease and freedom,

together with a number of peculiar forms, like the parallelism with its exquisite natural beauty, is lost to a great extent in the Arabic, in which the work of the schools, their pedantic striving after a consummate correctness of expression, and their rhetorical 'painting of the lily,' is often painfully clear. But to the Arabic alone is also due the spread of Shemitic—which had been carried atomically, so to speak, by the Phoenicians to the ends of the earth, but which, with a few isolated exceptions, never really struck root anywhere—to an extent never dreamed of by any ancient or even modern language; a spread that has not ceased yet, but is enlarging its circles from year to year, together with Islam itself. It is, however, as we said, only the last century before Mohammed, that has left us a few traces of preislamic literature. From the time of Mohammed it grew with exotic rapidity into one of the most widely and brilliantly cultivated. It embraced well nigh all the branches of human knowledge and research. Theology, medicine, philosophy, philology, history, mathematics, geography, astronomy, etc., are most extensively represented—though as yet only a beginning has been made in making the treasures of information these works contain as widely useful as they might be made. From the 14th century, however, the glory of Arabic literature began to wane.

We have here spoken only of the chief representative of the Arabic branch, the Arabic itself—still spoken now in the whole south-west of Asia, in the north and east of Africa, in Malta, partly even in India, and everywhere in fact where Mohammedanism reigns supreme—which was originally the dialect of one tribe only, viz. the Koreish. The ancient traditions speak of Cahtanic and Ismaelitic dialects; but at present we can only make a vague distinction between those of Yemen and of Hedjaz, during the anteislamic times. As the Koreish in the north-west were the spokesmen, as it were, of the latter, so the Himyars or Homerites made their dialect the predominant one in the South, until the Koran swept it completely out of Arabia, and, save a few scattered quotations imbedded in later writings, and some partly mutilated inscriptions of difficult reading and more difficult understanding, every trace of it in its original form has disappeared. The Ethiopic or Geez alone, which was spoken up to the 14th century in Abyssinia, seemed to have come nearest to it. But considering the scantiness of its own literary remains, which are chiefly of a theological nature (partly unpublished), and as such subject to the influence of foreign (European) missionaries—who also left their imprint upon it in its exceptional writing from left to right; considering further the small progress we have as yet made in deciphering the Himyaritic, nothing but a very cautious judgment on the relation of the two can be pronounced. The Amharic, a barbarous Geez dialect, stands, so to say, on the utmost line of the Arabic Shemite, and deserves but a passing mention. The idioms of the Gallas, Hamtonga, and a number of other tribes, however, no longer belongs to the Shemitic, notwithstanding some outer resemblances which have misled former investigators.

Respecting the visible representation of the Shemitic Languages, it may be broadly observed that writing, which in no language fully expresses all the sounds in their various shades, has, in the Shemitic

Languages this additional imperfection, that only the consonants—the skeleton of the word—are represented by real letters, while the vowels originally are either entirely omitted, or only the longer ones are expressed by certain consonants (*matres lectionis*). It was only at a comparatively late period that also the minor vowels were added in the shape of little strokes and dots above or below the line, but this aid too is only intended for less practised readers. Arabic and Hebrew are still commonly written and printed without vowels. Another point is the direction of the Shemitic writing from right to left (of which only modern Ethiopic makes an exception), a peculiarity still inherent in the alternate line of the *Boustrophedon* of the early Greeks. The nearest approach to the most ancient form of the Shemitic characters is found in the Phoenician, from which also all our European alphabets are derived [ARABIC LANGUAGE; ARAMAIC; HEBREW; WRITING, etc.] *Emanuel Deutsch*

SHEN (שֵׁן), *The shen*; Sept. τῆς παλαιάς, reading probably שֵׁן, *old*), a place between which and Mizpeh Samuel set up the stone Ebenezer (1 Sam. vi. 12). It has not been identified.—†

SHENIR. [SENIR.]

SHEOL. [HADES.]

SHEPHAM (שֶׁפָּחַם, 'a bare region,' from שָׁפַח 'to scrape'; Σαφαμά; *Sephama*), a place mentioned only in the description given by Moses of the eastern border of the Land of Promise (Num. xxxiv. 10, 11). It lay between Hazar-enan and Riblah. Hazar-enan, as has been stated, is probably identical with the village of Kuryetein; and Riblah still retains its old name and site on the banks of the Orontes. Shepham, therefore, must be sought for somewhere between these two. No trace of the name has yet been found; but the bare treeless country shows that the name was an appropriate one. It ought to be borne in mind that in the above passage Moses is not describing the country which was actually allotted to the twelve tribes, but only the country given to them in covenant promise on certain conditions (see art. PALESTINE, p. 383; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 354, seq.)—J. L. P.

SHEPHATIAH (שֶׁפְּתִיָּה, *whom Jehovah defends*; Sept. Σαφαρία). 1. A son of David by Abital (2 Sam. iii. 4).

2. One of the nobles who urged Zedekiah to put Jeremiah to death (Jer. xxxviii. 1).

3. One of the heads of families who settled in Jerusalem after the exile (Neh. xi. 6).

4. The head of one of the families, numbering three hundred and seventy-two persons, of the returned exiles (Ezra ii. 4, 57).

The same name, with a slight variation, in the original (שֶׁפְּתִיָּה), but not in the A. V., occurs in the following:

5. A son of king Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xxi. 2).

6. One of the chief of those valiant men who went to David when at Ziklag (1 Chron. xii. 5).

7. The governor of the tribe of Simeon in the time of David (1 Chron. xxvii. 16).

SHEPHELAH, THE (שֶׁפְּלָה), the native name of the tract of country lying between the highlands of Judaea and the Mediterranean, to the south of

Sharon. In the Onomasticon it is described as the region round Eleutheropolis on the north and west (s. v. *Sephela*). In the A. V. the word is invariably treated as an appellative, and is rendered by 'vale,' 'valley,' 'plain,' 'low plains,' 'low country' (Deut. i. 7; Josh. ix. 1; x. 40; xi. 2, 16; xii. 8; xv. 33; Judg. i. 9; 1 Kings x. 27; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28; 2 Chron. i. 15; ix. 27; xxvi. 10; xxviii. 18; Jer. xvii. 26; xxxii. 44; xxxiii. 13; Obad. 19; Zech. vii. 7). In 1 Maccab. xii. 38 the Greek form of the word *Sephela* (Σεφέλα) is retained in the A. V.

In Josh. xv. 33-47 the cities in the Shephelah are enumerated. They are presented in four groups; the first (33-36) comprising those situated in the hilly region at the northern end of the plain; the second (37-41) those of the plain itself; the third (42-44) those in the southern part of the hill-region; and the fourth (45-47) those on the coast of Philistia. This shows that the term *Shephelah* did not originally denote a plain, or that if it did it was used in this instance to denote not only the plain but the hills inclosing it [PLAINS; PHILISTIA; PHILISTINES].—W. L. A.

SHEPHERD. [PASTURAGE.]

* SHEPHIPHION (שִׁפְפִּיּוֹן) is a viper with two scales on the head, one above each eye, standing erect somewhat in the form of horns. This is a dangerous species, usually burrowing in sand near the holes of jerboas, and occasionally in the cattle-paths; for there are now few or no ruts of cart-wheels, where it is pretended they used to conceal themselves to assault unwary passers. It is still common in Egypt and Arabia. The other species is the *Eryx Cerastes* of Daudin, also small, having no movable poison-fangs, but remarkable for two very long back teeth in the lower jaw, which pass through the upper jaw, and appear in the shape of two white horns above its surface. It is known to the Egyptian Arabs by the name of Harbagi, which may be a distortion of *Olbaïos* in Horapollo, and is classed by Hasselquist among slow-worms, because in form the tail does not taper to a point. Its colours are black and white marblings, and the eyes being lateral and very near the snout the species has an exceedingly sinister aspect, which may be the cause of the ancient opinion that the *melekah*, or basilisk, for we take it for this species, killed with its looks, and had a pointed crown on the head: now serpents in the form of slow-worms, reputed to kill by their sight, are evidently not rapid in their movements.—C. H. S.

SHEPHUPHAN. [MUPPIM.]

SHESH (שֶׁשׁ), also SHESHI, translated *fine linen* in the A. V., occurs twenty-eight times in Exodus, once in Genesis, once in Proverbs, and three times in Ezekiel. Considerable doubts have, however, always been entertained respecting the true meaning of the word; some have thought it signified *fine wool*, others *silk*; the Arabs have translated it by words referring to colours in the passages of Ezekiel and of Proverbs. Some of the Rabbins state that it is the same word as that which denotes the number six, and that it refers to the number of threads of which the yarn was composed. Thus, Abarbanel on Gen. xxv. says: 'Schesch est linum Ægyptiacum, quod est preti-

osissimum inter species lini. Quum vero tortum est sex filis in unum, vocatur *schesch*, aut *schesch moschar*. Sin ex unico filo tantum, dicitur *bad*' (Cels. *Hierobot.* ii. p. 260). This interpretation, however, has satisfied but few. The Greek Alexandrian translators used the word βύσσως, which by some has been supposed to indicate 'cotton,' and by others 'linen' [Byssus].

In the several passages where we find the word *Shesh* used, we do not obtain any information respecting the plant; but it is clear it was spun by women (Exod. xxx. 25), was used as an article of clothing, also for hangings, and even for the sails of ships, as in Ezekiel xxvii. 7. It is evident from these facts that it must have been a plant known as cultivated in Egypt at the earliest period, and which, or its fibre, the Israelites were able to obtain even when in the desert. As cotton does not appear to have been known at this very early period, we must seek for *shesh* among the other fibre-yielding plants, such as flax and hemp. Both these are suited to the purpose, and were procurable in those countries at the times specified. Lexicographers do not give us much assistance in determining the point, from the little certainty in their inferences. The word *shesh*, however, appears to us to have a very great resemblance, with the exception of the aspirate, to the Arabic name of a plant, which, it is curious, was also one of those earliest cultivated for its fibre, namely *hemp*.

Of this plant, one of the Arabic names is حشيش

hushesh, or the herb *par excellence*, the term being sometimes applied to the powdered leaves only, with which an intoxicating electuary is prepared. This name has long been known, and is thought by some to have given origin to our word *assassin* or *hassassin*. Makrizi treats of the hemp in his account of the ancient pleasure-grounds in the vicinity of Cairo, 'famous above all for the sale of the *hushesh*, which is still greedily consumed by the dregs of the people, and from the consumption of which sprung the excesses, which led to the name of 'assassin' being given to the Saracens in the holy wars.'

Hemp is a plant which in the present day is extensively distributed, being cultivated in Europe, and extending through Persia to the southernmost parts of India. There is no doubt, therefore, that it might easily have been cultivated in Egypt. We are, indeed, unable at present to prove that it was cultivated in Egypt at an early period, and used for making garments, but there is nothing improbable in its having been so. Indeed, as it was known to various Asiatic nations, it could hardly have been unknown to the Egyptians. Hemp might thus have been used at an early period, along with flax and wool, for making cloth for garments and for hangings, and would be much valued until cotton and the finer kinds of linen came to be known.

So many words are translated *linen* in the A. V. of the Scriptures, that it has been considered doubtful whether they indicate only different qualities of the same thing, or totally different substances. The latter has by some been thought the most probable, on account of the poverty of the Hebrew language; hence, instead of considering the one a synonym of the other, we have been led to inquire, as above, whether *shesh* may not signify cloth made of hemp instead of flax. This would leave *bad* and

XIII. *On the First Ages of a Written Greek Literature.* By C. A. M. FENNELL, M.A.

[Read Nov. 23rd, 1868.]

THE Title of this Paper is couched in general terms, as it seems to me advisable to defer a full and exact announcement of the object of the essay, until the ground on which the statement is based could be presented with it. Briefly then it is as follows:

That among the Greeks Prose Literature was first committed to writing not earlier than the Persian wars, that is, in Ionia not before 500 B.C., in the rest of Greece not before 480 B.C., and that Metrical Literature was first indited several years later, say 450 B.C.

The wide differences of opinion, which prevail on the question of Greek writing amongst high authorities, ought not to deter any one from hoping and endeavouring to wrest it entirely and finally from the sway of "Opinion." Weighty concerns are involved in the discussion.

Nothing but despair of arriving at any certainty can bring an earnest student to regard it with indifference; for its bearing on the Homeric controversy constitutes only a portion of its usefulness; and, could it be satisfactorily settled, a very important chapter would be added to the History of Human Progress. If the decision were to establish the view which is here propounded, or any thing akin to it, the question would at once become of interest to the physiologist, since there would be exhibited a high state of mental development under most uncommon conditions.

Though the arguments of the greatest scholars on this point have hitherto appeared inconclusive, there is no reason why the ever-increasing resources and powers of critical scholarship should not add this also to the many difficult problems which inferior minds perhaps, with superior advantages, have at length been enabled to solve.

The present effort to hasten the solution is inspired by a firm conviction of the soundness of the opinions which I am about to advocate. Nothing less than such an

assurance could embolden me to run the risk of making confusion worse confounded, and incurring for myself the charge of impertinent temerity, by putting forward an account of the matter differing widely, as I believe, from all others which have yet been publicly discussed, at least in this country.

¹ I am not aware that any thing has been put forward in advance of Prof. Wolf's conclusion², "that books were not made in Ionia or Greece before the time of the Pisistratids," until very lately, when the author of one of the Society's publications³ said as follows :

"They (the Homeric Poems) are the work I think of an Ionic compiler of the school and age of Herodotus and Antimachus, or a very little before that time, one who lived in the period when literature was first committed to writing."

The judgment expressed in the last clause suggested to me the subject of this Paper.

At the outset I deprecate all inconsiderate submission to the popular prejudices which long habituation to a written literature, and none other, has engendered. As such I regard the assumption that it was impossible for the Greeks to preserve their poems by oral tradition; that when once the Greeks got to know the alphabet they would almost immediately use it to record ideas; or again, that it inheres in the nature of things that writing on soft material was prior to writing on hard. With respect to scratching, drawing, or painting, this may be true; but writing proper is a totally distinct matter. For my theory, though it may appear *prima facie* to be paradoxical and incredible, yet does not present greater difficulties than the other extreme of opinion, but rather offers a solution of many which have not been hitherto overcome. I venture to say that, though *demonstration* on our part may be impossible, our theory rests on grounds which off-hand objections will not easily invalidate. These grounds are the completeness of the negative evidence of classical authors; inferences drawn from the General History of the Greeks; examination of inscriptions; the evident *difficulty* of writing legibly on Greek vases prior to 500 B.C.; and the indications given by the Vocabulary.

First of all let us review the testimony of extant classical authors, beginning with prose writers and paying special attention to Herodotus, whose History, according to my hypothesis, is the earliest extant work which was committed to writing at the time of its composition⁴: so that if the internal evidence it offers, or any direct statement therein, goes strongly against my position, it at once becomes untenable.

The pains which Herodotus takes to confirm his assertions, and his frequent citation of verse-makers⁵, leads one to think that, had he had the opportunity of consulting prose authors, he would not have entirely ignored them. Yet he only mentions one, Ἐκαταῖος

¹ See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, Part I. ch. 21: "The first positive ground which authorizes us to presume the existence of a manuscript of Homer is the famous ordinance of Solon with regard to the Rhapsodes at the Pan-Athenæa."

This involves the gratuitous assumption that ὑποβολή must mean not only prompting but prompting from a MS.

² Prolegomena, xvii. sub fin.

³ On the comparatively late date and composite character of our Iliad and Odyssey, by F. A. Paley, M.A.

⁴ One cannot read the few introductory sentences of his 1st book without feeling that he speaks of himself as the first historian who employed writing at length, and with a view to a literary purpose for the use of posterity.

⁵ Homer, *Her.* II. 23, 63, 116, 117; IV. 29, 32; VII. 161. Hesiod, *ib.* II. 53; IV. 32. Aristæas, *ib.* IV. 13. Olen, *ib.* IV. 35. Archilochus, *ib.* I. 12. Musæus, Lasus, Onomacritus, *ib.* VII. 6. Simonides, *ib.* V. 102; VII. 228.

ὁ λογοποιός. He cites this one three times, speaks¹ of his genealogical discussion with the priests at Thebes, and gives his opinion at length, if not his very words, about the expulsion of the Pelasgi from Attica, with the introduction ὅτι Ἐκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Ἡγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι².

In his first chapter he says Περσέων οἱ λόγοι φασι, but he calls also the corn-growing Egyptians λογιώτατοι μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην³. Why? he thus gives his reason for the epithet, “μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα.” He tells⁴ us that Greeks write from left to right, while the Egyptians write from right to left, but say they do the reverse; which shows that writing boustrophedon had been given up before he visited Egypt (though this mode was still retained in inscriptions; which however he ignores, perhaps to strengthen the contrast he is exhibiting).

The only special mention of a roll of papyrus of any bulk is that of the Memphian Priests⁵, whence they read 330 names of Kings. Of course no one doubts the antiquity of written Egyptian papyri. βιβλία, small pieces of papyrus, seem to have been the principal material used in correspondence, at any rate in Ionia and the East; while the device of Demaratus⁶ shews that δίπτυχα δελτία overlaid with wax were still in use.

The earliest instance of a Greek using βιβλία that our Author gives is a letter of Histæus before the Ionic revolt.

In the celebrated locus Classicus⁷ we are told that of the Hellenes the Ionians who lived around Bæotia first learned letters from Phœnicians; a vague statement, intended to explain the superiority of the Ionians in this respect. He goes on to say, καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπάνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγέησί τε καὶ οἰέησι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι⁸. This passage was doubtless written after his visit to Greece, which cannot have been earlier than B.C. 450, more than two centuries after Egypt was opened to the Ionians; which interval of time, and indeed a shorter, would justify the use of ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ (which however if we are to supply χρόνου is a curious expression, particularly with κοτὲ after it). Elsewhere he uses ἐκ παλαιοῦ, ἐκ παλαιτέρου⁹.

In his silence in this passage about the other tribes he certainly exhibits a wish to exalt Asiatic Greeks; but he cannot be said to attribute the use of skins or byblus to any save Ionians.

He says expressly¹⁰ ἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Καδμήϊα γράμματα, “I saw,” NOT “I read.” The simplest explanation¹¹ is that he *could not* read them, probably owing to the confused arrangement of the letters, as is seen on a bronze animal in the British Museum, but took the version given by the local authorities, which may have been a conjectural interpretation or a pious fraud. If he had read them and yet said the letters were generally the Ionic, he

¹ II. 143.

² VI. 137.

³ II. 77.

⁴ II. 36.

⁵ II. 100.

⁶ I. 60, 157.

⁷ VII. 239.

⁸ V. 58—60.

¹⁰ Cf. II. 106, τὰς στήλας τὰς ἱστα Σέσωστρις αὐτὸς ὄρεον καὶ τὰ γράμματα.

¹¹ Müller, *Hist. of Greek Lit.* xvii. thinks Pherecydes Syrius one of the first who wrote down their unpolished wisdom on sheepskins.

¹¹ Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, I. 6; Col. Mure, *Lit. Hist.* Bk. III. ch. vii. § 10.

either spoke very carelessly, or they were utter forgeries without a pretence to being archaic; as η ω υ and ϕ were Ionic letters in his time, but could not have appeared in a moderately old inscription. If he could not read them, his language is accurate enough. This, too, fits in best with the context. He is illustrating his statement that the Ionians used Phœnician characters with a few alterations. These he could notice without deciphering words. The credulity he displays, however, though perfectly excusable, much impairs his credit as a witness on any point involving antiquarian research.

The use of the word *σύνγραμμα*¹ to designate an oracular response written down, and his lack of a distinct word to express "epistle²," unless *βιβλίον* be thought to be such, or "list," certainly do not indicate that a necessity had arisen to distinguish long writings from short.

That he had access to registers, though he does not say so, is not impossible; but that the bulk of his information was derived from hearsay, *ἀκοή*, is abundantly testified.

Compare the expressions of Thucydides i. 20—22³, and then contrast Xenophon's⁴ phrase *ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηται*.

Thucydides often speaks of the public use of engraved *στήλαι*. By the term *λογογράφοι*, he tells us that *λόγοι* committed to writing were familiar in his time. Herodotus' *λογοποιοὶ* may be included in the later term; but it would be begging the question to assume the two words to be absolutely identical in meaning.

Beyond this the Athenian throws no additional light on the subject.

The earliest author, to whom a book is expressly imputed by an extant classical author, is Heraclitus, by Aristotle⁵, while with regard to subsequent authors express notice of their writings are frequent enough.

It is needless for me to dwell on the negative evidence furnished by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The question before us and the Homeric question act and react on each other; and the new light lately thrown on the former cuts the ground on which they have stood hitherto from beneath those who hold highly conservative views on the other.

For instance, Franz rests most of his arguments for the antiquity of writing on the original unity and perfection of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; which Mr Paley has most convincingly impugned in the paper to which I have already alluded.

Again, Dr Thirlwall says⁶, "The interval which elapsed between the Homeric age and the following period of Epic poetry cannot be precisely ascertained, but within that interval if not before the Homeric poems must have been collected and consequently committed to writing, because they manifestly formed the basis of the Epic cycle. It is easier to suppose that they were written first."

Here is a tacit acknowledgement of the difficulty of the supposition, which is an agreeable

¹ Her. i. 48.

² vi. 50, *ἐπιστολή* = *mandatum*.

³ Cf. i. 73, *τὰ παλαιὰ ὧν ἀκοαί*—

⁴ Hellen. 7. 2. 1.

⁵ Rhet. III. It is noteworthy that the fragments of Heraclitus are spurious. Was Aristotle deceived in the matter?

⁶ *Hist. of Greece*, i. 6.

contrast to the contempt Col. Mure exhibits for such as presume to disagree with him, as much by the superficial character of his arguments as by direct attacks, and to the mixture of childlike trust and veteran obstinacy which we find in the preface of Mr Trollope, who does not seem able to discriminate between statement and proof, between contradiction and refutation.

Dr Thirlwall observes, speaking still of Homer, "And it will be no unparalleled or surprising thing if the production of a great work which formed the most momentous epoch in the History of Greek Literature should have occurred with either the first introduction or a new application of the most important of all inventions." This sentence may be with perfect propriety transferred almost verbatim to Herodotus, the production of whose work constitutes an important piece of evidence in my favour.

With regard to Melic. Elegiac and Iambic poems, I suggest, in opposition to Mr Grote's view, that the improvements in music made by Terpander and others in the seventh century B.C. either answered a demand for aids to the retaining in memory the more complicated rhythms which had come into use; or *vice versâ*, the varied metrical developments were rendered possible by the increased facilities of melodious accompaniment.

Among those remains of ascertained date which we possess there is not evidence of more than incised, impressed or painted words.

The negative testimony of Pindar deserves especial notice. It is thus summed up by Mr Paley, in the preface to his translation; "Not only is there no mention in Pindar of *reading* and *writing*¹ (except the single allusion to a written *name* under the words ἀναγνώναι and γράφειν²), but the oral conveyance by ἀγγελοι is often alluded to, and the words in *Ol.* vi. 91, seem absolutely to admit of no other interpretation; for the poet there compares the person who is sent to impart the ode to a *scytale* or writing-staff,—a short wooden cylinder round which a paper was wrapped for penning brief messages. If the man carried with him the ode written, the comparison is utterly pointless. He is called a *scytale* because he performs the same part, *vicariously*, of communicating a message. It would be perfectly absurd to call an errand-boy figuratively 'a note' simply because he carried a note to a friend's house. I cannot here go into this question at length, though quite prepared to do so, and though it is one of the greatest importance and interest. I will merely state in a few words my present conviction,—that a written literature was entirely unknown to the Greeks even in the times of Pindar."

Most of the remarks on the σκυτάλη apply equally to the passage in Archilochus where it occurs, Ἐρέω σοι αἶνον ἀχυνμένη σκυτάλη, which seems to mean "a vexed messenger," not "no welcome scytale," as Col. Mure wrongly translates it, and thereupon builds an elaborate argument.

In the opening of Olympian xi. where ἀναγιγνώσκω first occurs, the Poet's heart is likened to an ἀνάθημα, on which the victory is indelibly recorded, and by which the memory thereof is preserved.

¹ *Ol.* xi. 1—3. Compare *Ol.* iiii. 30.

² *Ol.* vi. 90; *Pyth.* iv. 279; *Ol.* ix. 25, etc.

The explanation which Mr Holmes propounded in the *University Gazette*, of this difficult phrase *σκυτάλη*, seems to me far-fetched. He says that the ἄγγελοι of Pindar are the "Masters of the Choir," and that Æneas is called the scroll-wand of the Muses. "He is fitted with the power of interpreting poetry by song just as this wand was indispensable to make a letter or document legible, the scroll requiring to be wrapped round it." Let us analyse the metaphor according to this interpretation. The poem is the scroll, Æneas with the Music the wand: yet the Muses are supposed to send Æneas,

"ἐσσι γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθὸς ἡὔκμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν."

But surely the sender in using a *σκυτάλη* would have kept one key-wand himself, while Agesias would have had the other, and Pindar would have sent the song to the wand: so that the Poet is accused of having used a phrase in a confused, not to say erroneous, sense. Mr Paley saves him from such an imputation.

Moreover, it were a strange hyperbole to imply that music was indispensable to make the Epinicia legible in anything akin to the sense in which the wand was necessary for the reading of the scroll.

Pindar is not wont to use metaphorical expressions loosely. Nor did he, I think, underrate the beauty of his language and his thought; which depended upon music for the enhancement of the delight that they afforded; not for its creation.

Again, the word ὀρθός favours Mr Paley's interpretation, for it seems to give the best sense when referred to the correctness of oral transmission. The passage in the fourth Pythian, 279, requires us to translate δι' ἀγγελίας ὀρθᾶς, by means of correct reporting, as a transition to the idea of music would be abrupt and unmeaning.

Lastly, the peculiar use of the word *σκυτάλη* by Archilochus is opposed to Mr Holmes' view.

"If we accept Mr Paley's theory," his critic goes on to say, "we credit the Greeks of Pindar's age with a power of memory almost miraculous. Those who have tried in the present day to commit to memory so much as a portion of one Epinician ode are fain to confess that the task is extremely arduous." I need hardly point out the widely different conditions under which a modern student and an ancient Greek set themselves to the task. Mr Holmes has surely forgotten the music, which would aid the Greek very materially in learning and remembering the burden. Such reference to a modern standard is fatal to a true and liberal estimate of the question at issue, and is the source of half the perplexities in which it is involved.

Solon tells us, τοὺς θεσμούς ἔγραψα; and there is one passage in Theognis of Megara which should be noticed; where he says:

¹Κύρνε, σοφίζομένῳ μὲν ἔμοι σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω
τοῖσδ' ἔπεισιν, λήσει δ' οὔποτε κλεπτόμενα.
οἱ ομένα.

¹ L 19. Bergk.

"By my skill let a stamp be set on these verses, and never shall they be appropriated without the plagiarism being manifest."

The metaphor is from a signet impression on a letter which establishes the genuineness of that letter; so the peculiar excellence of his style shall prove the genuineness of his verses. To take it literally makes the sentiment weak and undignified, and demands a very clumsy translation of σοφίζομένῳ ἐμοί.

From the style of Theognis and the topics of which he treats, we might well expect some allusion to clerkly habits had they been prevalent in his time; and their absence hence is highly significant.

With regard to tragedians, Dr Bentley has proved very satisfactorily that Thespis did not write, and so his plays, as being inferior to those of younger dramatists, were quickly allowed to perish and fade from memory.

If we are to believe Thucydides, the age was careless about history generally, and therefore would not value the first faulty germs of the drama as monuments of the progress of Art.

Æschylus mentions the mottoes painted on shields in the *Septem contra Thebas*¹.

He uses² δέλτοι metaphorically (tables of the heart), μνήμονες δέλτοι φρενῶν, several times.

He mentions³ πίνακες in the *Supplices* twice. Also βιβλοι occurs in the passage I. 946, 7:

ταῦτ' οὐ πίναξιν ἐστὶν ἐγγεγραμμένα
οὐδ' ἐν πτυχαῖς βιβλων κατεσφραγισμένα.

The second verse whereof is most probably spurious. If this be not conceded, I say that the βιβλοι of the Egyptian is contrasted with the πίνακες of the Greek.

Written ordinances are alluded to in the *Supplices*: thus, τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας τρίτον τόδ' ἐν θεσμίσις δίκας γέγραπται. I. 707.

In a fragment there is ὡς λέγει γέρον γράμμα. In the *Prometheus*⁴, he ascribes to Prometheus the invention of γραμμάτων συνθέσει, and of memory.

If the phrase means the art of writing, the myth conveys the truth that this invention is due to forethought, and does not interfere with the facts which are wrapt up in the two historical myths above mentioned.

In the *Trachiniæ*⁵ of Sophocles we have the παλαιὰ δέλτος of Hercules.

In the *Œdipus Rex*, l. 411, an allusion to Registering; ἄγραπτα θεῶν νόμιμα⁶ in the *Antigone*.

In fragments, two metaphors from δέλτοι, as in Æschylus, and the phrases γραμμάτων πτυχαῖς and φοινικίσις γράμμασιν, and the proverbial expression ὄρκους γυναικὸς εἰς ὕδωρ γράφω⁷.

¹ I. 434, 468, 646, 660.

² Prom. 799, Suppl. 179, Cho. 450, 699, Eum. 275.

³ I. 463, 946.

⁴ Prom. 460.

⁵ I. 47, 157.

⁶ I. 464.

⁷ Cf. Plato, *Phædrus*, οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει διὰ καλῶν.

The references to writing in Euripides are far more frequent.

In the *Hecuba* is found the manifest anachronism νόμων γραφαί.

There are sundry notices of the use of δέλτοι for correspondence, especially in *Iphigenia in Aulide*¹, and in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, δέλτον πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί.

In the *Palamedes*, the hero says: τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακ' ὀρθώσας μόνος ἄφωνα καὶ φωνοῦντα συλλαβὰς τε θεῖς, ἐξεύρον ἀνθρώποισι γράμματ' εἰδέναι. So that he probably followed the legend of Stesichorus.

In the well-known passage, *Hippolytus*, 451:

ὅσοι μὲν οὖν γραφάς τε τῶν παλαιτέρων
ἔχουσιν, αὐτοὶ τ' εἰσὶν ἐν μούσαις ἀεί—

γραφάς probably means paintings (on vases, walls, &c.).

Euripides* uses γραφαί for gravings of letters, it is true, but the plural is used of pictorial device in the *Phæniææ*, 129.

The allusion to paintings is just what would be natural in the mouth of the τροφός, and the two instances adduced are just such as would be chosen as subjects by an artist. Cf. *Hippolytus*, 1004: οὐκ οἶδα πρᾶξιν τήνδε πλὴν λόγῳ κλύων γραφῇ τε λεύσσω.

In *Iph. in Aul.* 797, are the words ἐν δέλτοις Πιερίσι, i.e. the tablets of the Poets. These two passages constitute the strongest evidence against myself to be found in the Tragedians.

The first extant notice of a transcribed copy is, I believe, in Aristophanes, *Ranæ*² (B.C. 405), thus:

Διον.: ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι
τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἑμάντόν.

Though many explain this by the name written on the ship. The *Andromeda* was exhibited B.C. 412.

From this passage one cannot argue an extensive publication such as would imply a long standing acquaintance with proper volumes of dramas.

For Dionysus, who is the reader, is the Deity most likely to take an interest in dramatic works, and therefore to have a copy.

If we accept this passage from the *Ranæ* as the most absolute evidence that the publishing of plays was extensive at the time specified, still my case is not materially affected.

It is far from being unaccountable according to my view that MSS. should be common and even cheap in the last decad of the fifth century B.C., though I am very far from maintaining that it was really the case in the time of Plato. If this much however is insisted on, an answer may be given as follows. When once the study of writing was fairly adopted it very rapidly gained great popularity and a demand for books arose which the

¹ 1. 35—39.

* *Iph. Aul.* 363. *Hipp.* 1311.

² 1. 62.

flourishing state of Greek commerce before the Peloponnesian war, and the employment of slave labour in copying, supplied so well that from Plato's *Apology* we find, as the Master of Trinity kindly pointed out, that it was sometimes possible to buy τὰ Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία—εἰ πάνυ πολλοῦ δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς ὀρχήστρας¹. So early as at the beginning of the fourth century before Christ, Eupolis too in a fragment preserved by Pollux makes familiar mention of book-stalls, οὗ τὰ βιβλίων ὤνεια; while throughout the works of Plato and Xenophon we discover sundry traces of literature which has since perished. My theory would almost lead one to anticipate this state of things *a priori*.

During an interval of nearly half a century a people already possessed of a very high intellectual cultivation would ply their newly acquired faculty, as we may call it, with a zeal, vigour and success, which, though they have hitherto appeared astonishing, seem only natural when all the exceptional circumstances of the case are taken into consideration.

There is not much reason for doubting that from the time of Sophocles, inclusive, dramas and other poems were written, perhaps transcribed. My object in examining the younger poets, has been to show that their works contain nothing whence it must be inferred that they had received a large inheritance of written literature.

As far as I am able to ascertain, this vast mass of negative evidence with regard to MSS. or long writings in early times has hitherto been generally ignored, and yet it can hardly be considered upon reflection to be without weight.

I now propose to show that the inference which I have deduced from this negative evidence is not, after due consideration of ascertained facts, contrary to reason, by making some suggestions as to how and why the delay in the application of writing to books is likely to have come about. So long as what I allege is not absurd, it will not matter if every particular does not command assent, as it will strengthen my cause greatly to give a probable or even merely possible account of a few main points in the rise and progress of the art which shall harmonize with the theory which has been propounded.

If this attempt were perfectly successful, and a good excuse given for the origination of existing opinions, the argument would be at once concluded; if it utterly failed the negative evidence would go for nothing; while by partial success that evidence is proportionately supported.

It is most natural to suppose that the Greeks picked up the syllabarium of the Phœnicians during active commercial intercourse with those traders.

Before the alphabet could be communicated, Phœnicians must have understood a little Greek.

In the *Odyssey*² this is not represented as being the case, as the Phœnician merchant therein mentions, though he stays a year trafficking at Syros; still at the end of that time carries on a bargain by dumb show, ὁ δὲ τῇ κατένευσε σιωπῇ. Now the Chalcidians and Eretrians of Eubœa, and indeed the inhabitants of that island generally, appear to have

¹ 1. 26.

² Papyrus-sheets, perhaps.

³ Od. xv. 415—463.

been in early times the most vigorous colonizers and navigators; therefore there is an *a priori* probability that *they* should be the first to learn the Alphabet. On turning to the relics of History, or, if that be too strong a term, of tradition, we find Stesichorus claiming the invention of letters for Palamedes, an Eubœan. The reality embodied in this mythical attribution of the invention to Palamedes is simply that Eubœans first adopted the use thereof.

The fact underlying the reference to Cadmus, the typical Eastern, is that the letters were derived from Phœnicians. To a Greek of Herodotus' time the two legends seemed contradictory: this simple explanation, suggested according to Müller's¹ method, renders their co-existence intelligible to us.

The fact that the digressive remarks of Herodotus on the introduction of letters follow so closely on his statement that he finds by further investigation that the Gephyræans who claimed Eretria as their ancient home were really Cadmeans, makes it seem not unlikely that the Gephyræans and Eretria were somehow connected with the beginnings of the art.

However this may be, the commercial relations of the Greeks with other nations cannot well have been intimate—so intimate as to enable them to acquire a foreign alphabet—until the struggles for existence represented by the Greek migrations had been succeeded by comparative quiet, and piracy no longer flourished; and therefore it is not unreasonable, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to place the commencement of Greek writing in the eighth century B.C. at earliest: though much later vases have no writing.

There is good reason for considering that excepting for purposes of correspondence and commerce the earliest use of the Alphabetic characters was to distinguish Votive Offerings stored in shrines.

This hypothesis, and the placing of *γράμματα* as opposed to *σήματα* after the Homeric age, are justified by the silence of even our Homer about writing generally, and by the necessity for some means of marking gifts that must have arisen with their accumulation. In support of the hypothesis that the progress of the art up to the time of the Persian Wars was gradual, we have seen that there is not a scrap of evidence in the Classical Authors that any thing approaching a volume was made much before that period.

There is abundant evidence to show that graving or stylus writing was at and before that period used,

1. To mark votive offerings and commemorate achievements,
2. For epistolary communication,
3. To register names,
4. To define boundaries,
5. For endorsing rude contracts and treaties,
6. For *ἐπι-* and *ἀναγράμματα* on temples, tombs, &c.
7. For publishing laws,

¹ Scientific mythology.

8. To record oracular responses¹,
9. For making memoranda,
10. For sketching maps,
11. For making geometrical figures.

(Words, at first single names, were painted on vases, &c., not on those of the oldest period.)

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we are free to suppose writing on hard or painting on soft substances applied to many other purposes not involving a great extent of writing; but *emphatically not to forming volumes of any length.*

The beginning of the Olympic Era was not very long after the Alphabet had established itself in the Temples and had been adapted to its new functions. This is the first Historical memorial of wider employment of the characters.

I here remark that the Greek mode of computing time is not characteristic of a writing age.

Again, the Codes of Solon and Pittacus indicate, like the Olympic register, if nothing else at least, an enlarged comprehension of the capacities of the Art in their respective states, Athens and Mitylene.

The improvement of graving on a layer of wax or gypsum would not lengthen the specimens to any great degree; though it doubtless multiplied the applications of the art.

It may have been invented originally to facilitate Registration.

The employment of letters for correspondence and business, and especially for counting, amply suffices to explain allusions to the early teaching of letters, of which Nitzsch makes such a point. Such allusions, I say, prove not a jot more than I am willing to allow, and the account to which Nitzsch and Col. Mure turn them only shows on how little basis, enthusiastic ingenuity can poise an inflated superstructure of plausibilities.

If it be thought that the Greeks were too ingenious and too fond of literature to be deterred by a want of mechanical aids from the gratification of their taste: my answer is, *first of all* it is by no means patent that writing was the taste of the early Greeks—in fact such a statement begs the question. The art would naturally have met with strong opposition from professional minstrels and reciters, as it showed signs of trespassing on their domain; and perhaps also from the keepers of temples who would aim at a monopoly of knowledge.

Secondly, vague talk about Greek taste and ingenuity in early times, assumes a more rapid advance from the crude state of society described in Homer than is warranted.

A uniform rate of progress in art and science must not be assumed as a matter of course; nor must one judge of early ages by the speedy and signal advance made in the 5th century B.C., the energy of which may (as is often the case) have been consequent upon a long previous period of comparative stagnation.

It is generally acknowledged that a high state of education was arrived at without

¹ *e.g.* The oracles collected by the Pisistratids and interpolated by Onomacritus.

mechanical aids by the cultivation of memory and music¹. Now the improvements in writing, such as the use of Papyrus, learnt in commercial intercourse, were at first applied to the purposes of trade; and therefore may have been unnoticed or despised by men² of refinement until by slowly and surely gaining ground they forced themselves upon their attention and gained their approval³. This view does not in my opinion impair the value of the negative evidence of Authors. This would give a reason for the apparent delay in the adoption of the $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ by the Ionians (though they were in constant communication with Egypt from the time of Psammetichus⁴; for which however their struggles against the Lydian Monarchy may in part account), and also for the silence respecting the progress of the art; which have been to me the most serious difficulties the question has presented.

A slow progress in the employment of letters may be further accounted for by the modifications of the Phœnician Alphabet, which were necessary and which Herodotus states were made before it became a fit vehicle for the Greek language⁵.

One of the earliest changes wrought by the Greeks was the assumption of the Semitic aleph, he, jod and ain as vowels instead of breathings⁶.

This appears to me to be the result of considerable study and analysis both of their own tongue and the new means of expression.

Discrepancies between the respective sibilants of the two languages presented further difficulties⁷.

San which = Schin Μ became confounded with Samech Σ Ξ, and after a while the sign for Schin was dropped out, and the Sigma more recently used, being the sign for Samech, was put into the place of Schin; that of Samech being taken in course of time by the Greek double consonant ξι + .

Perhaps their having adhered so much to the Phœnician order is due to their having used the alphabet for numeration from its first introduction, before they learnt to represent words by it.

Until Υ was invented Ο stood for itself⁸, ου, and ω; while Ε stood for epsilon, eta, and in Attic for ει at first⁹.

How can it be assumed that Greeks rushed at once into bookwriting in the face of these difficulties?

The differences of the Æolic and Doric from the Ionic and Attic alphabets do not favour the hypothesis of early literary communication.

¹ See Blakesley's *Pref. to Herodotus*.

² Perhaps Socrates in the *Phædrus*, 275, illustrates this prejudice in his anecdote about Θεόδωρος, to whom Θαμώδης says, οδκουν μνήμη δ' ἀλλ' ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον εὔρεν.

³ Since writing this I was glad to see the idea confirmed by the authority of Mr Holmes.

⁴ B.C. 664—617, Herod. ii. 153.

⁵ Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, ch. v. The Greek alphabet presents peculiarities of a most embarrassing nature. It derives its characters and their arrangement from a family of

languages with which it has no immediate connection, and the whole development of its system of writing is at variance with the notation on which it is based.

⁶ Franz, *Epigraphica Græca* Introd. III.

⁷ See Franz, *Epigr.* Introd. III, and *Revue Archéologique*. L'alphabet Hébraïque et l'alphabet Araméen par M. de Vogue.

⁸ This use remained until a late period, as may be seen in the inscription known as *Diræ Teiorum*.

	Æolo-Dorian.	Ionic and Attic.
Lambda	L ʼ	λ ^ ^
Digamma	F	—
Iota	ξ >	/
Xi	K M, ↓ ↗	+ ↗ X ↗ +
Koppa	ϙ ϙ ϙ	—
Sigma	M ↗ ε Σ	↗ Σ'
Chi	ψ ↓ V	+ X
Eta		H as a vowel
Omega		Ω

It appears likely that the Ionians used H and Ω before Simonides grew up; and that therefore his name became connected with them only because the popularity of his epigrams made them known in Greece proper. So with Ψ and Ξ, which have been attributed to Epicharmus¹. All this is proved by existing specimens of graving, some of the most important of which are in the British Museum. Franz gives facsimiles of the Theræan inscriptions, which he and other antiquarians refer to the beginning or middle of the sixth century.

From this source, and from inspection of inscriptions on vases, we also derive the information that writing boustrophedon was not at all uncommon as late as about B.C. 460.

Now this fact fits in very well with my view. The boustrophedon system, I take it, would be soon abandoned by the users of stylus or pen; and the adoption of an easier method by them would speedily affect the chiseller, graver, or painter.

In the Eliac brass² accordingly we have one of the earliest appliances of this improvement; and that, too, in the very region where we should expect proficiency and progress in the art, owing to the large collections of inscriptions in the Olympic Temple, and the periodical concourse from all parts to the great games. This remark applies also to Delphi and Corinth.

If on the other hand we are to believe that writing was used privately long before it was used publicly³, this difficulty occurs. We must either say that writers with stylus or pen persevered in writing boustrophedon for a long time (which however Herodotus utterly ignores, and it seems improbable on the face of it), and that the sculptors and painters borrowed this style from MSS. or that the latter, with MSS. Stœchedon to copy, deliberately chose a new and less simple style for public use.

The allegation that the retention of boustrophedon writing in inscriptions was an affectation of antique forms is not warranted. The retention of black letter in public documents in England, urged as a parallel case by Col. Mure, is not analogous. The most

¹ Afterwards the aspirate except at Athens.

² In the interesting fragment of Euripides' *Theseus*, we have

Θ Η Ξ Ε Υ Ε

This kind of Theta is not found in older Attic inscriptions and the Sigma neither in Attic nor Ionic.

³ Perhaps invented by Æolians or Dorians by modifying Upsilon, the last letter of the then alphabet. While the Ionic

branch transferred the then form of Xi to express Chi, Mommsen's opinion supports the notion of the antiquity of Xi.

⁴ Cf. Franz, part II. ch. 1. und Kirchoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Griechischen Alphabets*. Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom. Meletemata*, v. Inventores enim fere dicuntur il vel ipsi vel eorum eponymi quorum usu res ante inventa primum inclaruit.

⁵ Not earlier than B.C. 530.

⁶ See Franz, *Introd.* IV., especially the quotation from Nitzsch.

stolid conservatism does not *long* resist obvious improvements; and studied affectation of archaism is generally found in an effete and degenerate age, and therefore seems alien to Greeks of the fifth century B.C.

The simplest explanation of Herodotus' statement is that volume-writing was not taken up until the modern fashion of writing had become prevalent, which the inscriptions prove to have been not earlier than the fifth century. No long inscription of the old style has come down to us.

At any rate, if volumes were written and writing generally taught, it is not easy to account for the rudeness of the inscriptions older than B.C. 450.

One fact Epigraphice establishes, which is that the grammarians did not know much about the history of the alphabet.

The brilliancy of the literary epoch at Athens, which followed the Persian wars, has generally been traced to the moral effects of the national triumph, and the substantial results of the consequent Imperial position and commercial eminence of the State.

These sources of elevation, though doubtless great, are yet surely insufficient to account thoroughly for a mental developement so great and sudden.

The peculiar influence which I ascribe to those wars makes the relation of cause and effect clear and definite, a circumstance which in itself constitutes no mean argument in my favour.

To proceed to another point immediately suggested by the account given of the completion of the alphabet, I consider it was owing to their external circumstances that the Ionians, and their imitators, the other Asiatic Greeks, took the lead by perhaps almost half a century in the use of a fuller alphabet, and (closely connected with this) in the cultivation of literature proper beginning with prose. By sea they had more frequent intercourse with Phœnicians, and subsequently with Egypt, than other Greeks; and on land with the Lydians and the *East* generally¹. After their conquest by the generals of Cyrus, their disasters were partly compensated by the closer contact with Asiatic civilization. Until the revolt, Miletus was the capital of letters. It might be suggested that the Syracusans, who appear eminent in intellectual culture during the reign of Hiero, were not directly affected by the Persian wars: but they were connected with Corinth, for whose eminence I have already endeavoured to account, and their wars with and defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera offer an explanation of the fact which suits my argument.

This part of the subject will be dismissed with an attempt to show how the change from the use of memory in preserving literary work to the employment of writing was gradually and *silently* effected, when once the merits of the latter method had won a tardy acknowledgement.

As facilities for writing increased and studies multiplied, educated men became anxious to possess records of their favourite compositions hitherto handed down orally and stored in memory. In this way collections of single pieces or detached episodes would be formed

¹ Herod. II. 109.

without much regard to obtaining complete editions of an author's works. The epic ballads had remained most universally popular, and had been and were most easily remembered owing to the continuous character of the themes and the regularity of the rhythms. Hence it comes that we find τὰ Τρωικά quoted so much by Greek classical authors, and that we possess our Iliad and Odyssey. The really "fugitive pieces" of Lyric or Elegiac had been handed down, and were now committed to writing, some in one place, some in another, according to their original destination or the caprice of minstrels and reciters, with far less chance of being gathered together, when death had put the only complete and correct edition of the poet's works, so to say, "out of print" for ever. Of course some passages, by their singular beauty or pith, acquired a wider celebrity. National and family pride would cause the *Epinicia* to be especially treasured; and thus we might expect *à priori* that these above all would be preserved. This is notably the case: so that the lyric remains, especially those of Pindar, bear out my explanation as to the reason of their fragmentary nature. (N.B. The bulk of the remains of Erinna and Simonides are epigrams.)

It may be answered that vast quantities of lyric poetry reached the Alexandrine period, and were not lost till the destruction of the Alexandrine library. Still there may have been more copies of the *Epinicia*, and therefore greater chance of preservation.

Such is my suggested explanation of a few salient points of the early history of Literature.

I will now endeavour to meet some special objections which may be urged by opponents; namely those founded on

- 1st. The reported formation of Libraries in early times.
- 2nd. The fragments and notices of early prose authors.
- 3rd. Early registrations.
- 4th. Legends attributing writing to the mythical period.

Firstly, it is true that we are told by late writers of the libraries of Pisistratus and Polycrates¹, yet they are not mentioned by the lovers of literature who lived much nearer the times of those despots.

An endeavour has been made to account for this by supposing that the Persians destroyed these collections²; in which case I take it to be incomprehensible that no murmur of regret should be heard among the ancient voices.

In the absence of such expressions the fact of any one being driven to such a supposition is but an unconscious acknowledgement that after the Persian war there were *not* records of literature earlier than the Persian war.

So far from believing in the library of Pisistratus, we ought rather to consider that the codification by Draco and Solon marks an epoch of progress in graving in Attica.

¹ Col. Mure, referring to Herod. v. 90, has swelled τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ ἐκτετατοῦ οἱ Πισιστρατῖδαι into 'the oracular portion of the library (of Pisistratus).'

² Rawlinson's *Herod.* Vol. I. p. 42 note. 'Polycrates had

formed a library at Samos, Pisistratus at Athens, but the latter had certainly been carried to Susa, and it is very unlikely that the former had escaped the general ruin consequent upon the treachery of Meandrius.' Her. II. 146 seqq.

Beyond dedicatory or titular notices and rude treaties, there are no trustworthy records of legible inscriptions earlier than B.C. 650, possibly excepting a few Ionic specimens of vases.

Professor Maine¹ says "codes were certainly in the main a direct result of the invention of writing." Nitzsch has pointed out that Lycurgus cannot be said to have formed a code, as his *ῥητῆραι* were scita, and had nothing to do with jurisprudence.

Again, the inscriptions said to have been written by the seven sages, and the fact that the earliest epigrams preserved are those of Sappho and Erinna, Solon's contemporaries, are suggestive of inscription on hard material having taken a start in Solon's time.

Secondly, I cannot conceive prose writing not to have sprung into being as soon as mechanical obstacles were overcome; still less can I imagine with some that poems were written for nearly two centuries before a single sign of prose appeared. On the contrary, I hope to show that for a short time what has been supposed to be early written prose was handed down orally; as was the case for centuries with Poetry.

There are three kinds of work under this head:—

- 1st. The genealogies and Theogonies;
- 2nd. The Philosophical productions;
- 3rd. The narratives, &c. of the *λογοποιοί*.

Now the existence of the first does not necessitate nor imply *justa volumina*.

With regard to the second, Anaximander², B.C. 570—520, is the first supposed to have composed a treatise. Whether he committed it to writing himself or not, there is no reason to assume it to have been bulky; so that it might come under the head of *ὑπομνήματα*.

The same may be said of Anaximenes.

Pythagoras cannot be proved to have written anything, though some verses are ascribed to his pen.

Xenophanes³ and Parmenides of Elea, and Empedocles of Sicily, also composed verses, which I think is evidence that they did not *write*, as prose was far more suited to their themes than metre.

Surely it was the necessity of aiding the memory in default of other manner of recording their sentiments, which led philosophers and legislators too, according to what is said of Charondas, to confine their sentiments and injunctions to lines and feet.

Philosophers of after times thought this practice worthy of imitation, and so gave rise to a large body of didactic poetry. Hence the result of original disabilities is often considered a spontaneous effort and natural product of the Hellenic genius.

Thirdly, we have the *λόγοι*. This term the historians evidently used in contradistinction to *ἔπη* in reference to the rude elements of history treated *soluta oratione*, such as Theogonies, genealogies, geographical notices, narratives, and also *μῦθος*, all which subjects *τὰ ἔπη* had embraced⁴.

¹ *Ancient Law*, Ch. i. p. 15.

² See Grote's *Plato*, Vol. i.

³ Wolf, *Proleg.* 23, fuitque diu hæc unica via publice prodendi ingenii ut etiam Xenophanem poemata sua ipsum *ῥαψο-*

δοῦναι. *Diog. Laert.* ix. 18. Mitford, chap. ii. 3, esp. note 52.

⁴ e.g. Hesiod's *Theogonia*, τὰ *Ὀρφικά*, and Aristæus' *Arismaspea*. Herod. iv. 18.

These λόγοι were composed for recital, and their first object was to amuse and interest.

Thucydides¹ tells us λογογράφοι συνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει.

This being their character², there seems no reason why they should not have been preserved by oral tradition, as were the Αἰσωπικοὶ³ or Συβαριτικοὶ λόγοι, which were fables or witty anecdotes.

No one need consider this impossible who has had experience of sailors' yarns, or who has been condemned to the society of a student of Joe Miller.

I think that the λόγοι were not unlike in origin and general character mutatis mutandis to the Gesta Romanorum; the tales and fables in which were very likely repeated again and again to wile away the leisure time of the monks before their committal to writing. By the time Thucydides wrote they had been committed to writing to some extent. Probably Hecataeus was the first or one of the first λογογράφοι as opposed to λογοποιοί.

Pindar supports this view of the λόγοι by coupling them with αἰδοί, *Pyth.* i. 94.

And still more strongly in *Nem.* vi. 47, if λογίοισι and not λόγοισι is to be read, by the words πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσδοι νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν. Whence it would be inferred that the λόγοι travelled about like the καθαρχοί (or sent ἄγγελοι) to recite their tales.

Logography may have grown from the use of μνήμονες Δέλτοι.

With this view of the λόγοι, the legend of Herodotus' public recitation of his work at Olympia harmonizes. If this were certain, he would have united in his person the last of the λόγοι and the first ιστορικός.

There are still three names to be mentioned—Pherecydes Syrius the mystic, and Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus. The authority on which the few fragments remain is that of grammarians. Diogenes Laertius distinctly says that Pherecydes' book is preserved; but Josephus⁴ says Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσι ὀλίγα συγγράψαι καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν πάντων ἀρχαιότατα καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.

Suidas says under Hecataeus τὰ Ἀκουσιλάου νοθεύεται. Acusilaus, a Dorian, is supposed to have written in Ionic. Müller says, "because the Ionians were the founders of the Historical style, a practice universally followed in Greek literature." This is a strong statement: should it not be limited to Asiatic Greeks?

Granting, however, that this author wrote the works which bear his name. Granting also the inditing of a short treatise by Pherecydes, as well as by Anaximander and Anaximenes, still we may look upon them as special instances of skill and patience, and we are not justified in therefore concluding that poets were at the same time deserting the far easier method of perpetuating their works, which they had inherited from time immemorial.

¹ Bk. i. 21.

² Grote, *Hist.* Pt. i. ch. xxi. note. Mariner mentions unwritten prose tales preserved in memory and said to be repeated from age to age in nearly the same words, in the Tonga Islands.

³ Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 20. Aristoph. *Aves*, 65. *Vespæ*, 1269, 1427, 1437, 1448. *Pas*, 129.

⁴ *Contr. Apion.*: quoted by Sturtz, *Frag. Phere.* § 6 note A.

Is it possible again that they were written out, as I have suggested poems were, subsequently either from unassisted memory or from short notes?

The name of the original author was attached rather to the matter than the composition, which cannot have possessed merit enough for the writer's name to supersede or accompany the collector's in literary fame.

For example, the treatise of Anaximander may have been delivered by him orally, and retained in memory, and committed to writing by pupils after his decease.

It is not uncommon in early stages of society for groups of facts or ideas to range themselves around and cling to famous names, as witness the later improvements or alterations generally ascribed to Solon and Lycurgus. And so, too, perhaps the Phœnician alphabet was attributed to the mythological Cadmus; so that it is not unlikely that eminent λόγιοι may have had anonymous compositions accredited to them on this principle "—ut in licentia vetustatis." We ought not to forget the tendency of the unlearned to invest existing institutions with the mystery and sanctity of great age, to which the trait just noticed is in part referrible.

Again, the bibliomania which affected the later Greeks, particularly in the second century B.C., might give occasion for much literary forgery. And even before that time Heraclides Ponticus is accused of this dishonesty. It was very natural for men of a clerkly age to assume that composition and writing were inseparable. Moreover mistaken national pride tended to the fostering of such a notion.

This assumption renders any appeal to late authors from upholders of the contrary opinion to their own, not only utterly futile but also quite unnecessary; and has encumbered the whole subject with a mass of legends and theories which have well nigh overwhelmed the truth.

Thirdly, touching the alleged necessity of convenient writing material for registration, which Solon instituted at Athens. The register of 20,000 citizens and 200,000 souls (to take maximum numbers), assuming a quarter of the population to hold taxable property—giving 3 lines to an inch and 6 inches to the length of each line—would, according to the most liberal computation, make the register amount to less than 200 tablets of two feet square: the writing of which, a division of labour would make quite possible without convenient materials for book writing¹.

Fourthly, with regard to the Legends.

We have numerous instances, as I have shown, of poets ascribing a remote antiquity to graving, besides the most popular Cadmeian legend. Stesichorus assigns the invention to Palamedes. Col. Mure says he could not have done so had it not been then notorious among well-informed men that books had been familiar from time immemorial². He forgets that Stesichorus was of Himera, a colony of Chalcidians, who originally came from Eubœa, and Palamedes was a Eubœan; so that, on the contrary assumption to Col. Mure's, the poet's statement is explicable even without accepting my explanation of the myth.

¹ Col. Mure, *Hist. Bk.* III. 7, § 17.

² *Crit. Hist.* III. 7, § 14.

The tragedians represent characters even older than the Trojan war as using graving of letters, and I doubt not they believed in the older legend. It is natural that they should do so according to my view.

For three centuries and a half, perhaps before Æschylus composed his plays, this graving had been employed, and surely a lapse of ten generations in an uncritical age more than suffices to banish its origin into the wild and wide region of myth.

Moreover, had they known that their heroes did not and could not write, it is still a convenient and pardonable anachronism to represent them as so doing. Too exact a picture of remote scenes and times would remove the notion out of the sphere of the spectators' sympathies. Hence criticism is bound to approve certain conventional licences in this particular.

A very strong argument lies in the composite character of $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{ἐπι} \\ \text{ἀνα} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{λέγεσθαι}$ and ἀναγινώσκειν : moreover they did not mean exclusively "to read," but had earlier meanings, which they did not lose on being applied in a new sense¹. Hence it appears that the language had passed out of the early and simple stages before this idea required expression. The language could spare a root for this meaning as well as our own could spare "read," which root in its signification seems nearest akin to $\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$.

Again, mark the confusion between drawing, painting, and writing.

In authors prior to Pindar, except Solon, who says $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu\varsigma \epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\alpha, \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ meant to draw or paint, while $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ and $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ signify to "inscribe."

I have noticed the double use of $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$. $\Gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ means pictured forms in two passages of Plato, *Rep.* 472, *Phædr.* 275, and one of Theocritus, xv. 81, quoted by Mitford; also in an epigram of Erinna, and Euripides, *Ion* 1146.

Observe also $\rho\eta\tau\rho\alpha\iota, \rho\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}$, and note the phrase Μοῦσαι, ἡ μουσική , for literature.

I may just mention that formulæ of citation in classical Greek seldom indicate writing. There is nothing like the Latin phrase, "apud aliquem," which at once suggests reading. This however by no means accounts for the absolute silence on the subject of MSS., which we have noticed.

The *writings* of authors below the line I have drawn are frequently mentioned or alluded to by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, as also are MS. copies of early poems².

Many of the arguments I have adduced do not affect my particular theory any more than that of Prof. Wolf or Mr Grote, or any other modern view: but, besides having shown that the records of literature do not contain anything repugnant to my position, what I wish particularly to insist on as distinctly in its favour is that by it an adequate cause is assigned for the apparent anomaly of a philosophical system evolved

¹ e.g. Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* Bk. i. ch. 2. "Language especially in the period of its formation is the true image and organ of the degree of civilization attained; its archives preserve evidence of the great revolutions in arts and in manners, and from its rolls the future will not fail to draw information

as to those times regarding which the voice of direct tradition is dumb."

² e.g. Plato, *Prot.* 325 E. $\text{παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου (οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς παισὶ) ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλίων ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα καὶ ἐκμανθάνουσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν.}$

before history proper was at all studied, and also for the sudden and astonishing start of historical inquiry and composition from infancy to full growth soon after τὰ Μηδικά. The line that I have drawn there is not arbitrary; less so, in fact, than any that I know of.

Lastly. The method of education among the Hellenes,—their elaborate cultivation of music,—their fondness for recitation of all kinds—which found vent in a dramatic and rhetoric excellence, whereby Athens has been in these departments the instructress of the civilized world,—their wonderful dialectic, depending on vigorous reasoning power, supported by habits of attention and retention, now almost unknown,—all these features, I say, suggest so clearly a prolonged absence of written literature that the contemplation of them overwhelms all vague generalities which can be adduced in defence of the adverse opinion; and moreover, if they point to any definite period as constituting the boundary between the distinct epochs of oral tradition and written literature, it is that which has been selected by Mr Paley and unworthily advocated in this paper.

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